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INTERNATIONAL

CHINESE COLLABORATION WITH IMPERIALISTS IN FIGHTING LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Moscow MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 12, 1979 signed to press
20 Nov 79 pp 23-33

[Article by Yu. Semenov: "Beijing and the National Liberation Movement"]

[Text] Each year there is a greater number of nations where the peoples, having carried out a national liberation movement, opt for the noncapitalist path of development or the path of a socialist orientation. In all stages of the national liberation movement and the construction of a new life, the USSR and the socialist commonwealth as a whole act as the loyal friends and allies of the young independent states.

"The Soviet Union," commented L. I. Brezhnev, "has worked steadfastly for the complete elimination of all the remains of colonialism and racism, and for respecting the rights of all peoples, without exception, to independent development. Here the USSR seeks no economic or strategic benefits for itself and does not endeavor to encroach on anyone's legitimate interests."

The foreign policy of the socialist states which is aimed at detente, the strengthening of peace and international security, provides favorable conditions for a further upsurge in the national liberation struggle and for the political and economic development of the young developing states. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries provide not only moral and political support but also material aid to the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, and for national independence and social progress.

The Chinese leaders hold a different position vis-a-vis the national liberation movement. In being guided by selfish aims, they view the developing countries and the national liberation movement as a whole as an implement and means for carrying out their own great-power hegemonistic policy. The splitting actions of Beijing cause undoubted harm to the cause of national liberation, and they undermine and weaken the unity of the three most important forces of the modern world, socialism, the international communist and workers movement, and the revolutionary national liberation movement.

In our times, the struggle is intensifying by the former colonial countries to eliminate their subordinate position in the system of the economic ties of imperialism, to reshape economic and political international relations and to establish a new world economic order based on equality and mutual advantage. Beijing views the developing countries as its main reserve and support in the struggle to achieve world hegemony, and as a component part in the anti-Soviet, antisocialist "broadest international united front." In considering China among the developing nations, the Beijing leaders want for it to hold a dominant position in the Third World.

Obsessed with chauvinistic, hegemonistic ideas, Mao Zedong and his supporters trampled on the first fruits of the Chinese revolution. Having advanced the so-called "special course" of foreign policy at the end of the 1950's, they ultimately slid to a path of betraying the interests of socialism and the national liberation movement. In describing Maoism as a variety of opportunism and social chauvinism, the General Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party G. Hall has noted that this opportunism "even in those instances when it...approaches betrayal as before endeavors to act taking cover behind a curtain of radical or even revolutionary phrases. Maoism is one of the vivid examples of opportunism in an unattractive stage of decay, when opportunism and social chauvinism reach their full flourishing and act in concert with imperialism. Maoism has fully matured for an 'open, often vulgar alliance with the bourgeoisie and general staffs'."¹

The cause of socialism and the national liberation movement has been particularly noticeably harmed by the Maoist "theory of three worlds" which has been an ideological and political platform for the reactionary, nationalistic and counterrevolutionary circles. The Maoist scheme of "dividing into three worlds" has an anti-Marxist, nonclass, geopolitical nature. Inherent to it is ideological jumble and political confusion. This scheme ignores the existence of two opposing social systems. Its authors have not been intimidated by the paradoxical phenomenon that the racist regimes in Africa have ended up in the same group with the young progressive African states, while the regime of the bloody junta in Chile has been equated to Latin American countries with a democratic system. Such an antiscientific approach obscures the class contradictions between socialism and capitalism, the suppressers and the suppressed, the workers and the bourgeoisie.

The reactionary essence of the "theory of three worlds" immediately became apparent in all its unattractiveness. As the Maoist concept of "intermediate zones" which preceded it, it served only as a screen for concealing antisocialism, hegemonistic goals. Ultimately the "theoretical" postulates of the Maoists come down to one thing, namely that all the

¹POLITICAL AFFAIRS, May 1979.

nations of the world, including the United States, should join in a "broadest united front" against the USSR. Regardless of all the flimsiness of the bankrupt "theory of three worlds," the Chinese leaders even now continue to come out with hackneyed appeals for the rallying of the developing countries to struggle against Soviet "hegemony."

Contrary to the generally recognized facts, the Chinese leaders at the Second Session of the CPPCC (Fifth Sitting) in June of this year slanderously asserted that the Soviet Union "is the main source of tension in the current international situation," and they even endeavored to make absurd accusations of Soviet aggression in Indochina and the "provoking of armed actions and military coups" in various regions of the world. Incitement, appeals to form anti-Soviet blocs and for an arms race, attempts to set the developing countries against the socialist ones, and the provoking of conflicts--this is a far from complete list of the methods and procedures applied by Beijing on the international scene.

Beijing not only has long since abandoned practical aid to the national liberation movement, but in addition, having opened ties with imperialism, is doing everything to impede and suppress this movement, and to drive it from an antiimperialist course. At the same time it is endeavoring to deprive the movement of international support from other countries. Thus, the PRC Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Song Zhiguang complained: "If the United States carried out a firmer course in relation to Cuba, Castro could not have sent soldiers into Africa."

Beijing is fond of labeling things. Labels are not only fastened on political opponents inside the country, but are also made for export and are hung on entire states. For example, for a long time the Chinese leaders have accused the Soviet Union of "hegemonism." The task of "struggling against the hegemonism" of the USSR, and "blade against blade," was established in the official documents of the Ninth CCP Congress (1977) and the session of the CPPCC (1978). At the same time it was asserted that China "would never claim hegemony, and would never permit itself to become a superpower." But do these declarations correspond to the real policy of Beijing?

The joint announcements signed by China with the United States and Japan in recent years have stated that "none of the parties should achieve hegemony in the region of Asia and the Pacific Ocean, as well as in any other regions of the nation, and each of the sides is to act against the efforts of any other nation or group of nations to establish such hegemony." But precisely after the signing of these solemn statements, China committed aggression against Vietnam, having demonstrated the expansionistic nature of its policy and the unconcealed desire to achieve its hegemony in Asia.

The Chinese leaders have not only openly disregarded the assumed obligations under international agreements, but have also assumed the right to

make uncontestable accusations of "regional" or other "hegemonisms" against any sovereign country at their discretion. It is worthy of note that for justifying its actions, Beijing accused Vietnam which had won a difficult victory over the American aggressors and had begun to rebuild the national economy and carry out peaceful socialist construction of "minor hegemonism."

As for the Soviet Union, its position on this question is clear and precise. The Soviet Union has always been against hegemonism. It is well known that the USSR has never conducted and does not intend to conduct a policy of winning world dominance, as the Chinese leaders have asserted. The USSR has decisively condemned any drive for world domination, for domination over other peoples and countries, and views hegemonism as the direct antipode of the equality of states and peoples, and the antipode of the ideals proclaimed to the entire world by the October Revolution and to the principles of all Soviet foreign policy. According to the USSR proposal, the agenda of the current session of the UN General Assembly includes a question on the "inadmissibility of a policy of hegemonism in international relations" and a draft of a corresponding resolution. Its purpose is that no states or groups of states under any circumstances and out of any motives should claim hegemony in relation to other states or groups of states. However, the Chinese representatives in speaking so much of their irreconcilable struggle against hegemonism, have repeatedly endeavored to block the solution of this important question under various pretexts.

The Beijing leadership has not restricted itself to "theoretical" or propaganda actions. It has endeavored where this is possible to implement its plans in practice, in resorting to methods of provocations, incitement and blackmail, in exacerbating the international situation, in stirring up conflicts, without stopping short of overt interference into the internal affairs of other states and even direct aggression.

"...The hegemonistic, expansionistic course of China," stated the Soviet-Hungarian Joint Declaration of 1 June 1979, "aimed at thwarting detente and the creation of new centers of tension and the stirring up of military conflicts, represents a serious threat to peace, and to the interests of all the revolutionary and liberation forces of the modern world." In speaking on Hungarian television, L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that "China which so urgently needs peace for solving its own internal problems has become a serious source of military danger."²

This has been particularly apparent in the brazen aggression of the Beijing expansionists at the outset of the current year against Vietnam. The decisive rebuff by the heroic Vietnamese people with the international aid of the socialist countries and the active support by the progressive community of the entire world, put an end to the infamous aggression. However,

²PRAVDA, 2 June 1979.

Beijing still continues to make evil speeches and threats are made to "teach Vietnam a second lesson."

The Chinese officials constantly attack the efforts of other countries which have endeavored to halt the arms race, to strengthen the process of a lessening of international tension or to weaken the military confrontation of the two systems. The concluding of the new Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Agreements (SALT-2) caused clear dissatisfaction in Beijing. The report of Hua Guofeng at the last session of the CPPCC stated that "the agreements achieved at the strategic arms limitation talks cannot hold up the arms race any more than they can fundamentally resolve the problem of peace," and voiced the notion that "as before the factors threatening war are increasing."

The policy and actions of Beijing in Asia represent a real threat to peace and security. To its score are the armed invasion of Indian territory in 1962, the provoking of a confrontation between India and Pakistan, the impelling of the Pol Pot--Ieng Sary regime to aggressive actions against Vietnam, the organization of subversive activities and interference into the internal affairs of the nations of Southeast Asia, Mongolia and many other neighboring states, the creation overseas of a "fifth column" of Chinese emigres, and the fanning of hostility between Asian peoples.

Southeast Asia has long been viewed by Beijing as a zone of its predominant influence and interests, and as a springboard for extending its expansion. For China the Asiatic region is the most important (after Hong-kong) source of obtaining freely convertible currency and certain types of strategic raw materials. The enormous Chinese communities in the Southeast Asian countries play a major role in the plans of Beijing. Made up of emigres (huaqiao) among whom are many members of the petty, middle and upper bourgeoisie, these communities have hold of the most important threads of the economy and finances in the states sheltering them. With the aid of the huaqiao Beijing puts pressure on the governments of these countries.

The creation of a unified socialist Vietnam, the strengthening of popular [communist] power in Laos and Kampuchea, and the strengthening of the influence of socialism in this region are viewed by Beijing as a threat to their hegemonistic plans and as an obstacle on the path of its expansionistic drives in Southeast Asia. In attempting to strengthen its positions and to force the developing countries to obey its will, Beijing has resorted to various forms of political, economic and military pressure.

The armed seizure of the Paracel Islands by the Chinese naval forces in 1974 and the constant claims of Beijing to neighboring territories, including to the islands of the South China Sea, have caused concern among the ASEAN countries. In extending its claims to virtually the entire area of the South China Sea, Beijing thereby would take control over the important trading sea routes of the Southeast Asian nations. In certain instances the offshore boundaries designated on Chinese maps include

potential oil deposits belonging to other countries as part of China. After this what is the value of the hypocritical statements by the Chinese leaders that Beijing supposedly does not pursue any hegemonistic aims in this region of the world?

Forced to halt the aggression against Vietnam and institute talks with it, the Chinese expansionists put forward an ultimatum consisting of eight points, endeavoring to secure what China had been unable to impose on the Vietnamese people by arms. They not only demanded the satisfying of their territorial claims, but also endeavored to define the relationships of Vietnam with the USSR, Laos and Kampuchea. Even during the Sino-Vietnamese talks, Beijing did not stop the armed provocations on the frontier, in violating the territorial integrity of Vietnam. The socialist authorities continue to send the huaqiao into Vietnam for conducting intelligence and subversive activities and for organizing disorders and economic sabotage.

Having lost its obedient servants in the person of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary and at the same time its springboard for carrying out its expansionistic plans in Southeast Asia, Beijing at present is supporting the Kampuchean reactionaries who have been thrown out on the waste-heap of history, starting from the bureaucrats and generals who emigrated to other countries the remnants of the uncaptured Pol Pot bands and ending with the American puppets which were overthrown by the Kampuchean people in 1975. There are statements on the coordination of subversive activities against Kampuchea carried out by agents of Beijing and the CIA. Beijing is also endeavoring to foster the actions of the Laotian counterrevolutionaries. In the eyes of the great-power expansionists of China, emphasized the Hanoi newspaper QUAN DOI NHAN DAN, Laos and Cambodia are an important springboard for aggression against Vietnam and for establishing rule over Southeast Asia.

The intentions of the Chinese leadership to seek support for their policy among the reactionary regimes was further demonstrated by the visit of Hua Goufeng to Iran, and his talks with the Shah in 1978. In a situation of broad indignation with the rule of the Shah in the country, the very visit by Hua was an outright demonstration of support for this undemocratic regime. The Chinese guests expressed complete approval for the activities of the Shah in his capacity as a rabid supporter of forging military-political blocs and a policeman for his own and other Arab peoples. Moreover, they in essence pushed the Shah into suppressing the revolutionary movements in his own and adjacent countries.

The policy of Beijing has also sided with the actions of the imperialists and the reaction which have undertaken attempts to complicate the carrying out of progressive changes in Afghanistan, to organize armed actions and subvert the regime existing there. Beijing not only slanders the Afghan revolution, but in every possible way also supports bands of terrorists and finances and supplies weapons to the Afghan reaction. On the territory of Pakistan, Chinese instructors are training saboteurs from among the Afghan counterrevolutionaries and these are then dropped back into Afghanistan.

Beijing is closely coordinating its policy in Asia with the imperialist circles. Thus, Deng Xiaoping on the eve of Chinese aggression against Vietnam made a trip to Japan and the United States from whence with the blessings of the American and Japanese imperialists the signal was given for "teaching Vietnam a lesson." Even after the failure of the Chinese aggression, he restated to Japanese legislators that "confronted with the expansion of hegemonism in Asia and the region of the Pacific Ocean, China and Japan must continue ..to increase their forces."³

In May of this year, Beijing warmly welcomed the former U.S. Secretary of State, Kissinger, who during his trip through the Asian countries sought the creation of a fifth fleet in the Indian Ocean and an increase in the Seventh Fleet in the Pacific, for a predominant U.S. naval presence "to the west of the Hawaiian Islands" and for restoring the American military presence in Thailand. He was against the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea and in every possible way defended Chinese aggression in Vietnam. Many similar statements were made by the former U.S. president Nixon during his visit to the PRC in September of this year.

A majority of the developing Asian countries, regardless of their socio-political system, are vitally interested in maintaining peace and security in this region. Why then do the Chinese leaders so stubbornly reject the idea of security based on collective efforts? The principles residing in these ideas not only do not encroach on but, on the contrary, affirm and guarantee the sovereign rights and independence of each state, including China, and they help to strengthen friendly, good-neighbor ties between peoples.

In developing the ideas of security in Asia based upon collective efforts, the Soviet Union has clearly formulated the principles on which this should be based: The rejection of the use of force in the relations between states; the inadmissibility of the seizure of territories; the settling of international disputes by peaceful means alone; the respect for sovereignty and the inviolability of frontiers; noninterference into internal affairs; the broad development of economic and other cooperation based on complete equality and mutual benefit; the right of each people to control their destiny and their natural resources and to carry out socioeconomic changes.

However, these principles do not conform to the interests of the hegemonistic policy of the Chinese leaders or to their plans of forming military blocs. The aggressive actions of Beijing vis-a-vis Vietnam and its other neighbors are undoubtedly a most flagrant violation of all the above-indicated ideas without exception. In precisely the same manner they run counter to the famous Bandung principles which were signed by a Chinese representative.

³RENMEN RIBAO, 1 June 1979.

Beijing is in favor of the militarization of Asia, it has come out for the strengthening of the American-Japanese military alliance and other military-political blocs aimed against the USSR, it has urged the formation of an anti-Soviet "broad united front," and has constantly offered itself as an ally of imperialism. The Chinese leaders approve of the U.S. military presence in Asia, and have urged Japan to strengthen militarization. If one also considers the growing militaristic trends in China itself, then such a political course of Beijing, in essence, is aimed at undermining the bases for the guarantee of peace and security on the Asian continent, at aggravating international tension, and at maintaining the threat of expansion and armed provocations on the part of China.

In words the Chinese leadership has favored the unification of Korea, but by its practical actions has obstructed this, in being in favor of the preservation and even the strengthening of American military presence in Asia. As was pointed out by the American political scientist D. Zagoria, "Beijing practices two standards, public and private. The latter which it cannot voice openly consists in supporting the presence of American troops in South Korea."

Although the Chinese leadership in words still declares it is ready to establish relations with other countries on the principles of peaceful co-existence, the real policy and actions of Beijing have nothing in common with these principles. The rabid statements of Beijing against the efforts of other countries aimed at strengthening peace and a lessening of international tension, the preaching of a greater threat of a new world war, the refusal to sign international treaties on limiting the arms race, the attacks on proposals for security based on collective efforts, the outright appeals to prepare for war and the accelerated militarization of its country, the threats and armed provocations on frontiers with neighboring states, and, finally, the infamous aggression against Vietnam--all of this clearly contradicts the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The policy of expansion and aggression by Beijing has been decisively condemned by the developing countries. "It is quite obvious," pointed out the newspaper ETHIOPIAN HERALD, "that as long as a militaristic clique stands at the helm of power in Beijing, the hegemonistic course of China will remain unchanged, representing a serious threat to peace and security not only in Southeast Asia but throughout the world."

The Soviet Union and the other socialist nations have continuously expressed their solidarity with the African peoples fighting against colonialism, apartheid and racism, as well as with the Arab peoples who are decisively against the dangerous conspiracy of the reactionary forces of the United States, Egypt and Israel.

In contrast to the policy of the socialist states in Africa and the Near East, the Chinese leadership has overtly sided with imperialism and racism in the struggle against the national liberation movements. This is shown

by such facts as support by Beijing for the domestic and external reaction working against the democratic government of Angola, the supplying of Chinese weapons to the reactionary forces fighting against Socialist Ethiopia, support by Beijing for the capitulatory policy of Sadat and his deals with Israel at the expense of Arab interests.

On many important questions concerning Africa and the Near East, Beijing and Washington hold the same or similar positions, and they use identical "arguments" in attacking the revolutionary liberation struggle of the African peoples and in discrediting Soviet and Cuban aid to the Africans and Arabs in this struggle. The new Chinese leaders, commented the WASHINGTON STAR, to a greater degree have oriented their policy to the policy of Washington. During the talks in Beijing in the summer of 1978, the U.S. Presidential Assistant for National Security Z. Brzezinski received an agreement from the Beijing leaders for Chinese support for the NATO plans to suppress the national liberation movement in Africa.

In carrying out a policy of provoking clashes between the USSR and United States, the Chinese leaders have not hesitated to accuse the American administration of "softness," idleness and a reticence to become involved in the conflicts and internal affairs of the African states or to aggravate relations with the USSR, Cuba and the other socialist nations.

At the same time Beijing has been pursuing its own interests in Africa, in counting, in particular, on undermining the good relations of the African states with the countries of the socialist commonwealth. For this purpose Beijing has endeavored to strengthen the rightist regimes, and to support those groupings and organizations the policy and actions of which conform to Beijing's interests, and, on the contrary, secretly and outrightly has undertaken everything possible to weaken the positions of the states which do not wish to follow it.

In accord with the change in Beijing policy vis-a-vis the developing countries, corrections have also been made in Chinese propaganda. It no longer makes antiimperialist and "ultrarevolutionary" slogans. The Chinese leaders now constantly advise the African peoples to seek a rapprochement with the so-called "Second World," that is, with the capitalist countries, and in essence with the former colonialists from England, France and Belgium with whom the Africans supposedly have "much in common." The Chinese propounders of the "theory of three worlds" assert that "the Second World can no longer be the main force which controls and suppresses the Third World," and for this reason "to join with it in the joint struggle against the two hegemony powers, the USSR and the United States, is not only essential but also possible."⁴ In carrying out its policy of

⁴RENMIN RIBAO, 1 November 1977.

rapprochement with the United States and exacerbation of relations with the USSR, Beijing thereby has shown that the concept of a struggle against American imperialism is merely a screen behind which are concealed rapid plans to create a broad international front to fight against the forces of peace, progress and socialism.

In calling themselves the "friends" of the Arab peoples, the Beijing leaders have not said a word to condemn the actions of the ruling circles of Israel aimed at breaking up Lebanon and establishing control over its southern areas, or at eliminating the Palestinian Resistance Movement which together with the Arab peoples is conducting a courageous struggle against the aggressive actions of the Israeli military.

The unseemly actions of Beijing in Africa, particularly in Angola, were sharply condemned by the African public. "The crushing defeat which Beijing suffered along with its South African allies and the treacherous FNLA and UNITA organizations," wrote the Dakar press, "has shaken to its foundation the edifice of Chinese African policy and has caused serious damage to its prestige on the continent."

Also coming to naught were the attempts of the Chinese leaders to deflect Africa from its chosen path of the revolutionary struggle against the old suppressors--imperialism and colonialism--to a confrontation with the friends and allies of the African peoples, the socialist countries. The president of Madagascar D. Ratsiraka in an interview with the journal AFRIQUE ASIE stated: "While Beijing presently considers its basic enemy to be not American imperialism but rather the Soviet Union, for us, the Africans, the main enemy is American imperialism with its South African allies."

In the congratulations to the African states and peoples on the occasion of African Liberation Day sent by L. I. Brezhnev on 25 May 1979, it was stated that "the establishment of a free Africa is occurring in a situation of a sharp struggle between the forces of national liberation and progress and the forces of imperialism and reaction which have endeavored to check this irreversible process and even go over to a counteroffensive." To thwart the plans of the enemies of Africa it is not only a task of the African peoples but also a duty of all people of good will.

The development of good relations between the Latin American countries and the Soviet Union, Cuba and the socialist commonwealth as a whole has evoked irritation and discontent among the Chinese leaders. The activities of Beijing in Latin America are aimed at encouraging anti-Soviet and anti-socialist moods and currents, at encouraging the alliances of Latin American countries with the developed capitalist states and primarily the United States and its monopolies, and at encouraging the Third and Second Worlds to form blocs on an anticommunist basis. By their actions the Chinese leadership is objectively impeding the positive processes in the socio-political development of the nations of the continent, and is damping and weakening the national liberation movement.

In a situation of the ideological and organizational crisis of the Maoist movement in Latin America, the Chinese leadership has made adjustments in its policy. Now it supports only those groupings which wholeheartedly approve of the course of Beijing of an alliance with imperialism, and refuses to help and subsidize those who express even the slightest disagreement with Chinese dogmas and ideas.

The Beijing leaders, in essence, are working to split the national liberation movement in Latin America and to use it in their own interests. With the aid of various Chinese-financed groupings, they are organizing a struggle against the communist parties in these countries, they are carrying out anti-Cuban and anti-Soviet agitation among the students and intelligentsia, and are providing direct support for the reactionary regimes.

The overthrow of the reactionary pro-imperialist dictatorship in Grenada, a small island in the Caribbean Sea, and the formation there of a government which proclaimed a broad program of democratic changes in the country and the establishing of diplomatic relations with Cuba caused dissatisfaction in the U.S. ruling circles. Also alarmed were the other dictatorial regimes in Latin America and the reactionary dictatorships in Chile, Haiti, Paraguay, Uruguay and Nicaragua. The reaction undertook attempts to put pressure on the sovereign state of Grenada.

How did Beijing react to this event? It again took the side of imperialism and the reaction again having betrayed the interests of the national liberation movement. The Xinhua Agency sounded the alarm describing events in Grenada as a "political storm which has caused concern in many nations of the region." At the same time depicting themselves as the "best friends" of the peoples fighting for their liberty and independence, the Beijing leaders have said not a word in support of the Sandino National Liberation Front in Nicaragua during its struggle against the dictatorial Somosa regime.

In refusing to support the national liberation movements in Latin America, the Beijing leadership has followed a path of cooperating with the most reactionary regimes which Beijing has endeavored to utilize as allies, the proponents of Maoist ideology and its political influence. This is particularly obvious in the close cooperation of Beijing with the fascist junta in Chile, the bloody Somosa regime which was recently overthrown in Nicaragua, and other equally odious dictatorships. Announcements have appeared that China is supplying Pinochet with weapons.

The activities of the Chinese emissaries in Latin America are aimed at involving this continent in the arms race, at propagandizing the "inevitability of a new world war," and at intimidation "by the threat of direct military expansion" by the USSR. The Chinese leaders have urged the Latin American states to maintain the bloc system under the U.S. aegis. They have endeavored to establish and expand contacts with the military circles of the Latin American states, in encouraging militaristic moods in them.

However the too overt tilt of the Chinese leadership toward a rapprochement with U.S. imperialism has evoked disillusionment with Beijing's policy in the ruling circles of many Latin American states. They know too well the iron grip and expansionistic nature of their neighbor, American monopolistic capital, they know the price of Beijing demagoguery, and do not want to be a blind implement of either American or Chinese policy.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries give great significance to the nonalignment movement as an influential factor in the struggle for peace and international security and against imperialism, colonialism and racism. They have expressed satisfaction with the successful results of the Fourth Conference of Heads of States and Governments of the Nonaligned Countries in Havana.

The attempts of the West and Beijing to split the nonaligned movement, to deprive it of clear guidelines, and to lead it into the blind alley of "equidistance" from the forces of socialism and imperialism did not find support at the Havana conference. The antiimperialist platform worked out at it fully conforms to the interests of the peoples in the nonaligned countries.

The positions of Beijing fully or substantially differ from the positions of the nonaligned movement on the basic international problems. The expansionism of Chinese policy, the flirting with imperialist forces and reactionary regimes, the complicity for the imperialist policy of neocolonialism, and the placing of pressure and blackmail on Vietnam, Laos, Cuba and other nonaligned countries--all of this, naturally, cannot help but cause particular caution and mistrust in the nonaligned movement as concerns the intentions of Beijing.

The aims and goals of the nonaligned movement are incompatible with the great-power aspirations of Beijing on the most urgent questions of the modern times, including: The problems of war and peace, detente, disarmament, decolonialization, and the establishing of a new international economic order. In claiming an influence in the nonaligned movement, China, however, acts from positions which contradict the principles of nonalignment, in favoring the strengthening and creation of military political blocs such as NATO, the Washington--Tel Aviv--Cairo military alliance, and others. Beijing constantly issues appeals to the NATO countries and Japan to arm and arm.

Confronted with the growing solidarity of the nonaligned states, the United States and the other capitalist countries and Beijing along with them are doing everything to weaken and blunt the antiimperialist focus of the nonaligned movement and to turn it against the opposite side, to a struggle against the USSR and the other socialist states, and to split and undermine the movement from within.

Beijing is endeavoring to discredit and undermine the positions of the representatives of the progressive forces in the nonaligned movement, and

above all the authority of Cuba and Vietnam. At the same time it is endeavoring to find allies in the right wing of the movement, among those who share the foreign policy views of the Chinese clique.

Chinese propaganda has attacked Cuba and Vietnam, and has made an effort to prevent recognition of the government of Kampuchea by the nonaligned movement and to prevent the expulsion of the followers of the bloody Pol Pot regime from its ranks. It is indicative that the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued Ieng Sary, the scourge of the Kampuchean people and one of the leaders of the cruel genocidal regime which destroyed 3 million Kampuchians, a passport in the Chinese name of Su Hao with which he arrived in Colombo in June of this year during the foreign ministers conference held by the member nations of the coordinating bureau of the nonaligned movement with the provocative aims of splitting the nonaligned movement.

Beijing has also attacked other nonaligned states, for example Afghanistan, for its policy of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries. The actions of Beijing vis-a-vis the nonaligned movement largely coincide with the actions of the imperialist powers.

However, these intrigues by Beijing are already being recognized in the developing countries. "The ignoring by China of the true aims of the non-aligned movement," commented *INDONESIAN OBSERVER*, "and in particular the struggle against imperialism, fascism and racism, derives from the so-called 'theory of three worlds' which urges the developing states to strengthen ties with the Chilean dictatorship, the racists of South Africa and the members of the aggressive NATO and ANZUS blocs. The carrying out of this theory can lead to the collapse of the nonaligned movement which is viewed by Beijing as an obstacle on the path to seizing leadership in the Third World."

The development of the world revolutionary process is not following the Maoist scenario, or those schemes and plans which are being hatched in Beijing. After the victory of the Vietnamese people over the American aggressors and the liberation of the south of Vietnam, the unified Socialist Republic of Vietnam was founded and grows stronger each day. After the victory of the revolution in Laos, this country also began the path of socialist construction. The bloody pro-Beijing regime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary was overthrown in Kampuchea. Progressive socioeconomic changes began to occur in Afghanistan. The democratic orders have grown stronger in Angola, Ethiopia and the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen. As a result of the actions by the broad masses of people, the despotic proimperialist regime of the Shah in Iran was overthrown. Revolutionary democratic transformations are also occurring in the other developing countries.

Recently the influence of Maoism as an ideological current in the developing countries has noticeably gone into a decline. To a large degree this has been aided by the very policy of the Beijing leadership which is aimed at a rapprochement with imperialism and the fascist and reactionary regimes,

by the aggression against Vietnam, by the malicious attacks on the socialist states, and by the repeated instances of the betrayal by Beijing of its former supporters and the revolutionary movement in the different countries of the three continents. It is becoming more and more apparent that Beijing policy vis-a-vis the developing countries objectively meets the interests of the imperialist powers and that in portraying themselves as the friends of the liberated countries, the Chinese leaders in essence have become active coparticipants and allies of the imperialists in the struggle against the national liberation movement. Such a policy is profoundly inimical to the interests of socialism, the liberation struggle of the peoples and the cause of peace. For precisely this reason it has no future and is inevitably doomed to defeat.

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INTERNATIONAL

NEW BOOK ON LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNISM REVIEWED

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[Review by P.G. Litavrin of the book "Castroism and Communism in Latin America, 1959-1976: The Varieties of Marxist-Leninist Experience" by William E. Ratliff of Stanford University, Washington and Stanford, 1976, p 240]

[Text] This book by Stanford University professor William E. Ratliff, which has such a pretentious title, is devoted to an analysis of the revolutionary movement in Latin America in the sixties and seventies. This is no accident inasmuch as the interest of U.S. scholars and specialists exploded with new force as a result of the coming to power of the Popular Unity government in Chile and the affirmation of the ideas of scientific socialism on American soil, despite the defeat of the Chilean revolution.

An intensified theoretical search continues in the U.S. with regard to the prospects and opportunities for opposing the revolutionary processes in Latin America; this search finds expression in numerous articles and monographs, of which this book under review is one.

The work consists of seven chapters, which contain examinations of the following issues: the world communist movement in Latin America; the significance of the Cuban experience for the revolutionary struggle on the continent; the influence of the Soviet Union and China in this region, as well as the significance and results of the urban and rural guerrillas in Bolivia, Uruguay and Argentina. The appendix contains documents of the Latin American communist and workers' movement, in particular the documents of the conferences of the continent's communist parties held in 1964 and 1975.

The time has passed when American theorists declared the revolutionary-liberation struggle in Latin America to be a consequence of "subversive activity by Moscow" or "Castro agents." Little by little the conscientious analysis of the facts forces them to recognize that

constructs of this kind are built on sand. However, with regard to the terminology from the time of the Cold War, it is relatively hardy and turns up in the works of even those authors who attempt to analyze the very essence of the events and who long ago gave up the primitive anti-communist approach to Latin American reality. The above is fully applicable to the book by W.E. Ratliff.

Another characteristic feature of this work--something which strikes one on the basis of the title alone--is the author's attempt, which is by no means unique, to view the characteristics of the theory and practice of the revolutionary process under various historical conditions and countries as something new, as an independent trend in "communist ideology," thus denying the unity of the world Marxist-Leninist experience. Behind this lies the author's obvious desire to split the various detachments of the international communist movement and to whatever degree possible, to set one against another. In particular, he uses the term "Castroism" to mean an isolated revolutionary ideology and practice which is characteristic of Latin America alone. This term is used in the work alongside the concept of communism and is frequently set in opposition to it. W.E. Ratliff attempts to present the Cuban Revolution not as the natural result of the development of the worldwide--including the Latin American--revolutionary process, but rather as a special phenomenon. From this the conclusion follows that "Castroism is the road to communism and differs in a fundamental way from the path traversed by the Soviet people" (See page VIII). In other words, here as in a number of other cases, the uniqueness of the Latin American economic and political conditions is elevated to an absolute by the author, although he, too, is forced to recognize that Latin America has been subject to the various universal ideological trends and views.

This monograph comes from the pen of one of the U.S. Latin Americanists whose writings are distinguished by a high level of scientific research and the desire to make a realistic evaluation of events; however, this desire is completely subordinated to the main goal, which is to provide the ruling classes of their country with the most acceptable "formula" for the struggle against the revolutionary movement on the continent. This, in fact, gives rise to the contradictory nature of the work, and it leads to the use of conclusions to prop up the official doctrine, although with certain reservations; this is manifested with particular clarity in the section of the book which talks about the political struggle in Chile during the time the Popular Unity government was in power.

While not approving the crude American interference in Chile's internal affairs or the CIA's subversive activities, W.E. Ratliff attempts to emphasize the frailty of Salvador Allende's government and the fact that his efforts were doomed. He notes specifically that Popular Unity never had a majority; it received 36 to 42 percent of the total votes cast, and this was supposedly "insufficient to carry out the program of

revolutionary transformations" (p 186). If this position is taken, the same could be said about the capacity of U.S. governments to carry out policy effectively when they receive support during the course of several presidential elections from only 5-30 percent of all voters?

The author analyzes in sufficient detail the internal political struggle in Chile during the years 1970-1973. On the basis of a large amount of factual material he reveals the role played in the fall of the S. Allende government by the ultrarightist groups. In his opinion, the conflicts and struggle within the country were the main factor in the defeat of the Chilean revolutionary forces, while the subversive activities of the USA were a lesser factor.

In studying the internal conflict in Chile, W.E. Ratliff, probably to his own surprise, comes to the conclusion that in principle the Chilean way could have led to success. "If the revolutionary changes," he writes, "had been carried out in a more organized and purposeful fashion, and within the general outlines proposed by Allende and the Communist Party of Chile during the development of the program of Popular Unity, the revolution by the time of the 1976 presidential elections could have become irreversible" (p 187). With this formulation of the issue, the author unavoidably contradicts his own thesis about the political instability of the government of S. Allende resulting from the low percentage of votes cast for him.

A relatively interesting section is the one which discusses the guer movement in Latin America based on an analysis of the struggle of the detachment under the leadership of Che Guevara and the "Tupamaros" movement. In this regard, W.E. Ratliff notes, on the one hand, that the vitality of the urban and rural guerrillas, whose movement has alternately subsided and then grown stronger, has lasted for many years already, and, on the other hand, he tries to emphasize how isolated they are from the broad popular masses (p 131).

The author devotes a great deal of attention to an examination of the reasons for the political instability of Latin America, stressing in this regard the difficult living conditions of the masses and the tradition of "authoritarian" rule. In his opinion it is easy to fall into extremes when determining the prospects of the revolutionary process in Latin America. Life has shown the groundlessness of the overly optimistic prognosis which was advanced in the early sixties. In characterizing the Soviet assessment of the development of events in the region, W.E. Ratliff repeatedly calls it "realistic" and "considered."

In summarizing the results of his investigation, the author draws a conclusion discomfoting for those who are developing U.S. Latin American policy and who would like to strengthen Washington's position on the continent. "The political and socio-economic conditions of life in many Latin American countries are improving only very slowly, if

at all. And if significant progress is not achieved in the solution of the continent's fundamental problems, the scale of the upheavals and conflicts which are now being observed will grow even greater in the future..." he writes (p 193).

However, even with this kind of turn of events, W.E. Ratliff thinks, the USA will have new levers to control the situation. The author suggests that the development of the revolutionary process in this region will be extremely contradictory in nature. There will arise many groups and trends which will be hostile to each other and which will weaken each other's strength and influence.

It is perfectly obvious that W.E. Ratliff is betting, as are many other American scholars, on those difficulties which do in fact exist in the revolutionary movement of Latin America. However, he obviously exaggerates their significance. The experience of the Cuban and--to a certain extent the Chilean revolution--shows that it is completely possible to overcome the conflicts and disagreements just as it is to create a single anti-imperialist coalition. For this reason the author in this case presents that which he wishes to see as if it were what actually exists.

At the same time one can see something else in this kind of position. Influential circles in the United States are counting on the internal subversion of the revolutionary struggle in this region, and there is no doubt that in the future they will continue to make attempts to divide the ranks of those fighting to liberate the continent from imperialist oppression, to achieve progress and socialism.

W.E. Ratliff's book is proof that there is work being carried out in the USA on the study of revolutionary progress and the influence of socialist ideas in Latin America. A definite reassessment of values is taking place; a departure from former positions is being observed, and increasingly realistic conclusions and forced acknowledgements are being made. But this does not change the main point, which is that all American theoretical studies, with the exception of those which are carried out by Marxist scholars, continue to be aimed at the development of methods to oppose the revolutionary movement on the continent; they are meant to be part of the struggle against the ideas of communism.

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NATIONAL

ALL-UNION CONFERENCE ON NATIONAL RELATIONS

Participants, Sessions

Kishinev KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII in Russian No 11, Nov 79 signed to press
16 Nov 79 pp 24-27

[Text] In October of this year, in the capital of our republic the All-Union Scientific Conference was held called "Nationalism and Internationalism in the Modern World." Below is published expanded information on its work and two reports are presented which the authors read at the conference.

Actually, it was from this standpoint that all of the work was conducted by the All-Union Conference "Nationalism and Internationalism in the Modern World" which was organized by the scientific council for national problems of the USSR and Moldavian SSR Academies of Sciences. Philosophers, sociologists, historians, ethnographers, linguists, lawyers, and other specialists from Moscow and union republics, as well as party and soviet workers participated in it. The First Secretary of the Moldavian Central Committee of the Communist Party I. I. Bodyul, who gave a speech titled "The Role of the Party in Realizing the Leninist National Policy," and other members and candidate members of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia participated in the work of the conference.

At the plenary sessions the following speeches were heard: Director of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician Yu. V. Bromley titled "The Processes of Internationalization in the Modern World"; Chief Secretary of National Relations of the Institute for Marxism and Leninism Under the CPSU Central Committee, Doctor of Historical Sciences M. I. Kulichenko titled "The Dialectics of Nationalism and Internationalism Under the Conditions of a Developed Socialism"; Secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee I. P. Kalin titled "The Unity of Nationalism and Internationalism in the Communist Education of the Workers"; Deputy Director of the Institute of Africa under the USSR Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Historical Sciences G. B. Starushenko titled "Nationalism and Internationalism in the Development of the National Liberation

Movement at the Present Stage"; Academician of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences N. G. Korletyanu, Doctor of the Humanities Yu. D. Desheriyev and Candidate of Historical Sciences M. N. Guboglo titled "Nationalism and Internationalism in the Linguistic Life of the Peoples of the World," which was given by N. G. Korletyanu; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences F. T. Konstantinov titled "The Correlation Between Nationalism and Internationalism in the Development of Socialist Cooperation"; Academician of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences D. T. Ursul and Candidate of Historical Sciences V. S. Zelenchuk titled "The Unity of Nationalism and Internationalism Within the New Soviet Rites," which was read by V. S. Zelenchuk; Doctor of Historical Sciences Yu. V. Arutyunyan titled "The Social and Cultural Development and the Drawing Together of Nations"; Academician of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences A. M. Lazarev titled "Nationalism and Internationalism in the Creation and Strengthening of the Soviet State System of the Moldavian Nation."

In the speeches and reports, the main attention was devoted to the analysis of the present situation of theoretical and practical aspects of the problem of nationalism and internationalism within our country as well as within the frameworks of socialist cooperation on an international scale and the further development of them.

The Communist Party has always devoted primary attention to putting their national policy into practice. Led by the teachings of Marxism and Leninism, in the shortest historical period of time, it solved national problems which it inherited from capitalism. As a result of the victory of socialism in our nation, socialist nations and nationalities formed which attained unprecedented heights in economic, social, and cultural development. On the basis of common goals and tasks, a firm fraternity and friendship among all nations and nationalities which populate the Soviet Union, a new historical society arose--the Soviet people.

The program of national construction at the present stage which was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress is consistently being carried out. New achievements have been made in strengthening the economic and defense power of our native land, in the social and political unity of the Soviet people, and in the patriotic and international education of the workers.

However, our nation's progress presents problems, as the 25th CPSU Congress noted, concerning the thorough study of theoretical problems of developed socialism, the legal aspect of its development into communism, and the mechanism of their operation and utilization. The processes for the further drawing together of nations and nationalities and strengthening the unity of the Soviet society require intensive study.

National and international factors and their relationship play an important part in these processes. At the conference they discussed the fact that presently throughout the world a great change is taking place towards the internationalization of the life of peoples. This process is particularly active in our nation and other socialist countries. And this is according

to law, since under socialism the state not only does not hinder this process (which exists under capitalism), but, just the opposite, assists it. The Communist Party and Soviet State in every way possible promote the strong friendship between nations, a drawing together of the countries, and their mutual influence on one another and mutual enrichment. All of these factors comprise the basis of unity and firmness of our society and its further successful development.

It was noted that the international, that is that which is common to all nations and nationalities, prevails already today. It is characteristic for both economic and spiritual life. For example, in producing the Kishinev tractor plant products, over 200 enterprises, representatives of dozens of nations and nationalities in the country participate in it. The vast majority of scientific work, and artistic and literary creations are also the result of the creativity of many peoples from various nations. This means that our nation has achieved a level of economic and national construction where the realization of the task of building a communist society is within its power.

Developing and improving, the international does not prevail over the national. On the contrary, it promotes its more complete manifestation. At the conference the view taken by several scholars who had studied the development of internationalism and nationalism in parallel as isolated factors, was criticized. Moreover, as Marxism and Leninism teach us, there is a close interdependence and interrelationship between them. K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin studied them in a dialectic unity.

Although in the development of our society the international prevails, the national plays a very important role. It has at its disposal many possibilities which can promote the successful blossoming of nationalism as well as internationalism. In connection with these, they discussed the necessity for a more thorough study of these possibilities, and everything new that promotes the progress of nationalism and internationalism, as well as the study of the dialectic processes taking place there. All of this has not only a theoretical, but a practical significance, since taking them into consideration and their proper interrelationship greatly determines all of the CPSU activity on strengthening the international unity of the Soviet people.

The participants in the conference noted that in studying the problems of nationalism and internationalism in our country, specific achievements have been made recently. Thus, thorough studies made by economists rendered a great deal of assistance in having the party and state attain one of the fundamental theses of the Leninist national policy--equalizing the level of economic development for the Soviet republics. The study of the social development of nations, in particular, their intra-class structure, the interrelationships of nationalism and internationalism, the history of the formation of nations, and the various aspects of friendship and cooperation among soviet nations--as internationalism in action, became more active.

Soviet linguists are successfully studying the processes of bilingualism including as an example, our republic, the role of the Russian language as a language for contact among nations in the Soviet Union as well as internationally. Data gathered on bilingualism among various nationalities, social, professional and demographic groups attested to the fact that for the Soviet people, the Russian language has truly become their second native language. It plays a most important role in the internationalization of the soviet society and in improving national relations. Its influence is also growing in the international arena. It has not only become the official international language, but is eagerly studied by workers throughout the world. For the language of the world and friendship of nations is, as the outstanding internationalist Georgiy Dimitrov said, the language of the approaching era of communism.

At the conference, attention was directed at clarifying nationalism and internationalism in the soviet way of life, which would allow the advantages of a socialist system in resolving a national issue to be shown.

Questions on nationalism and internationalism in our country were studied at the conference in close conjunction with present processes in fraternal socialist nations. A number of speeches and reports were devoted to this. It was noted that the experience of national building in the USSR had become fundamental for other states of socialist cooperation also and promoted the more rapid solution of basic problems of socialist building. They spoke about the necessity to study more widely the processes of nationalism and internationalism, their relationship to the interior of each of the socialist nations as well as to the cooperation as a whole, of issuing general works, which thoroughly discuss their diverse life, and a faithful adherence to the principles of proletariat and socialist internationalism. Many reports concerned the processes of the internationalization of life on a world scale, in capitalistic and developing nations. Particular attention was given to the characteristics of internationalization under the conditions of socialism and capitalism. It was underscored, that capitalism, because of private ownership of the means of production, and the ideology of individualism and disunity of the people, can not eliminate the actual inequality of nations and achieve cooperation among them on the basis of mutual respect and mutual assistance. As the practice of socialist and communist building in the USSR and other socialist nations shows, only a new social structure creates the necessary conditions for the complete solution of these burning problems, on the basis of which man's communist society on an international scale is formed.

The thorough study of the problem of the drawing together of nations, specifically, nationalism and internationalism in a period of a developed socialism, also is of great significance to the struggle with bourgeois ideology and propaganda. As it is known, the apologists of capitalism along with revisionists, in every way possible slander the national policy of the CPSU, distort it, trying in this way to plant the seeds of distrust towards it among the broad masses of workers of capitalist and liberating nations, as well as a distrust for the experience of the building of

socialism in the USSR and other nations. It was noted at the conference, that exposing all possible bourgeois falsifications on these issues must be conducted actively, aggressively, and scientifically show the real processes of national relations in the USSR.

The conference admitted the necessity to increase the research on problems of national relations under the conditions of a mature socialism and of nationalism and internationalism in the modern world. Only their thorough understanding—a prerequisite for the successful work in educating within all soviet people a feeling of pride for their socialist Motherland, for the indestructible fraternal friendship of the USSR nations, of the respect for national dignity and national culture, and an intolerance towards any manifestation of nationalism, is indicated in the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee: "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," as well as in the speech given by Comrade M. A. Suslov "The Cause of the Entire Party" which was given at the All-Union conference of ideological workers.

For these goals, it was recommended to more actively use a purposeful—program method and a complex and comprehensive approach in studying the given problems. It was also recommended to devote more attention to the study of the economic aspect of national relations in our nation today, in the relationship between nationalism and internationalism as well as the class and ethnic-cultural aspect of development and the drawing together of nations; to the analysis of tendencies towards increasing the All-Union basic principles and strengthening national government, both general and national, in the soviet way of life and other aspects.

It was noted that the improvement of historiographic and a historical study base are very significant in improving the effectiveness of studies conducted on national problems. For this, it is advisable to constantly analyze the state of study done on this or that aspect of a given problem and publish more theoretical and practical literature.

The conference showed the increased level of scientific research in the area of national relations and the effectiveness of a systematic approach to working on them. It was closely tied with practice and a large group of ideological workers participated in it. Undoubtedly, all of this will help party organizations improve the patriotic and international education of the workers and will promote the further successful resolutions to the given problems.

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Processes of Internationalization

Kishinev KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII in Russian No 11, Nov 79 signed to press
16 Nov 79 pp 28-37

[Article by Yu. Bromley, academician USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of Scientific Council on Nationality Problems, Social Sciences Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] The idea which was developed by V. I. Lenin concerning the two tendencies in the national issues under capitalist conditions is fundamental for the understanding of the dialectics of nationalism and

internationalism. "Developing capitalism," he showed in this connection, "means two historical tendencies in the national issue. The first is the awakening of national life and nationalist movements, struggle against all kinds of national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and increased frequency of all kinds of dealings between nations, the breakdown of national barriers, and the creation of an internationalist unity of capital, economic life in general, politics, science, and so on." (COMPLETE COLLECTION, Vol 24, p 124).

Under the conditions of a general crisis of capitalism, a further intensification of these tendencies occurs. This is particularly noticeable in the area of economics. The general crisis of a bourgeois society, particularly, accelerated the development of a monopolistic capitalism into a state-monopolistic one, promoting in this way the further increase in production. At the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism, the tendency observed manifested itself in the development on the basis of the scientific and technical revolution of the means of mass communication (from transportation to radio and television). In particular, an important role in the increased rates of exchange and other forms of international cooperation belongs to the rapid technical progress of all types of transportation, particularly marine and air transport.

A typical process in the development of the modern world economy, which to a great extent, originated from the scientific and technical revolution, is the rapid growth of foreign trade, a strengthening in the specialization of branches and inter-government cooperation. A form of the internationalization of modern capital, such as the international (transnational) corporations is inseparably linked to it. The post-war years saw the tremendous growth of these enterprises, the distinguishing feature of which is the spread of industrial activity abroad. Thus, according to existing evaluations, in the seventies international corporations controlled three-fifths of the entire export of capitalist countries. The growth of these corporations is accompanied by an intensive process of their absorbing national companies. In striving to make superprofits, the international corporations ignore the interests of those countries in which their branches are located. Disposing of tremendous amounts of money, they often paralyze government control of currency in individual developed capitalist countries.¹ The growth of international monopolies did not lead to and cannot lead to the elimination of inter-imperialist contradictions; on the contrary, their increased power made the competitive struggle even more merciless.

Economic integration presents a special form of the internationalization of economic life under modern conditions. At its basis lay the objective requirements for the development of production powers, the close

¹Kul'kin, A. M., Smirnov, P. V., "Internationalization of Modern Capital: Fundamental Contradictions and Trends of Development." VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1979, No 4, pp 96-102.

interrelationship between national economies of individual states, and a deep intertwining of the processes of reproduction and regulation of the economic interrelationships of these states. Moreover, in various social and economic formations, the integration has its own specific forms, particular features and properties which make the socialist and capitalist integration fundamentally different. At the same time, the tendency towards economic integration can be also observed in developing countries. Here in the last 10-15 years, a large network of various economic associations has been created which, it is true, is not uniform in its goals and character of activity, and also is not always long-termed. In a word, the issue concerns an unstable and contradictory tendency.²

In developed capitalist countries, the economic integration is expressed in the establishment of economic complexes which are based on the international interrelationship of monopolies and states in order to increase profits and redistribute markets and spheres of influence. Economic integration in a world capitalist system has chiefly a regional character which becomes particularly clear in the unification of Western European nations in the Common Market--the European Economic Community (EEC). In a less bright form of expression, these processes appear in the North American region (USA-Canada), and recently in the area of the Pacific Ocean (Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada).³ An active role in the regional economic integration is played by the government apparatus of individual nations and inter-government institutes striving to direct the development of integration processes in the interest of the ruling classes. In particular, a distinctive, political superstructure over the economic integration processes in Western Europe is the European parliament. With the help of this supra-national institute, the Western European monopolistic bourgeoisie is counting on achieving a more active coordination of domestic and foreign policy in the nations of Western Europe; moreover, first of all, they have in mind overcoming those things which are distinctive for those countries and their interrelationship of economic, social and political contradictions.

However, all of this, of course, does not have a basis on which to forget that even now in inter-imperialist relations, not only an integrating and uniting tendency is operating, but also a tendency "which contrasts imperialists with one another..." (V. I. Lenin. COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS, Vol 36, p 332). The first originated from the unity of class interests of the bourgeoisie facing revolutionary power, and the second is evoked by its unavoidable economic rivalry. Moreover, the relationship of these tendencies in the post-war years did not remain unchanged. The end of the forties and the fifties and sixties were distinct by the prevalence of a whole system of military, political and economic ties and agreements which united the majority of the developed capitalist nations.

²See Maksimov, M., "Capitalistic Integration and World Development," MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, 1978, No 3, pp 22-23.

³PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1973, No 7, pp 15-17.

During the first half of the seventies, the activity of the second tendency increased as did the centrifugal processes which it originated.⁴ This was caused by a number of factors. The economic crisis of 1974-1975 was a particularly powerful blow to the progressive tendency in the development of Western European integration. For the first time after World War II, it simultaneously embraced all of the developed capitalist nations and many developing ones, accompanied by high levels of integration and unemployment. It is advisable also to bear in mind the difficulties which arose in connection with the expansion of the composition of the Community, changing the "six" into the "nine," as well as the lack of ability on the part of participating nations to deepen the currency-financial and production-sale integration, since this is tied in with the transfer of a number of sovereignty rights to national organizations.⁵ The discord between France, FRG, Italy and England concerning a concrete policy for EEC and the European parliament is significant. Moreover, the relationship of powers between them is by no means even. According to many economic indicators, FRG is now ahead: its economy produces 40 percent more industrial output than the French one. But France possesses a number of political advantages (the third nuclear power, permanent member of the Security Council and so on). It is also necessary to underscore, that the course for the further economic and political integration has evoked discontent among parts of the national bourgeoisie of Western European nations. It is concerned with the fact that this can lead to infringing upon its interests and to limiting national independence.⁶

On the whole, within the scope of the entire capitalist world, the differentiating tendencies are revealed first of all in the fact that "among various imperialist powers...the inequality of economic development increases."⁷ This clearly manifested itself in the technical and economic, as well as in the social and political relations. In this connection, in particular, the changes in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism in the proportion of the largest capitalist nations in world industrial production are quite indicative. Thus, while as a result of defeat in the First World War, Germany fell from second to third place among leading capitalist powers in economic relations (after the USA and England), already in 1937 it was again ahead of England. Approximately the same occurred after World War II also, when FRG moved from fourth to second (after the USA) for the first time after the war already towards the middle of the sixties. Toward the end of the sixties, the position of FRG

⁴IMPERIALISM OF THE SEVENTIES: INCREASE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS. Prague, 1974, p 81.

⁵Maksimova, M. op. cit., p 13.

⁶Arsen'yev, E. "'Little Europe' in the Knot of Contradictions," ZA RUBEZHOM, 1979, No 24 (989), p 8.

⁷"International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. Documents and Materials, Moscow, 1969, p 269.

and England practically reached that of Japan⁸, which at the beginning of the seventies was second in the capitalist world in the volume of industrial production and gross national product.

If in developed capitalist countries in the 20th century the tendency still prevails (despite its contradictoriness) towards internationalization, then within developing countries another tendency is attaining a leading role which was characterized by V. I. Lenin as "the awakening of national life and national movement" (COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS, Vol 24, p 124). As it is known, during the first decades after the war, the scale of the national liberation movement of peoples in colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries became particularly significant. As a result, while on the eve of the war 66 percent of the population of the earth lived in this type of nation, at the present time their proportion is less than one percent.⁹ Having basically solved the national liberation problems, the peoples of the young states were faced with the necessity of protecting their economic and cultural rise. In other words, the center of the weight of the tendency for developing the national life of these states moved, first of all, to a social and political sphere. But their economic rise, naturally, is not possible without expanding ties with states which are developed in an industrial manner.

However, the objective necessity of the liberated nations in international economic ties is widely used for mercenary ends by modern imperialism, entangling them through different types of dependencies—along the lines of production, finance, engineering and technology. Moreover, world imperialism is attempting to encourage forms for the unavoidable economic development of the liberated nations which would be advantageous to it. Monopolistic capital is striving to create in them, using inexpensive labor, only a few branches of industry, particularly raw material gathering and its processing, that is the most labor-consuming, energy-consuming and nature-polluting processes, as well as specialized enterprises and individual elements of large-scale industrial complexes. At the same time, their most important and complex sectors remain within the industrial centers of capitalism. This is how the line to increase the technical and economic dependency of the liberated nations from foreign monopolistic capital is being realized.¹⁰

All of this cannot but evoke opposition on the part of the liberated nations which are striving to end ties with the heritage of colonialism and with direct and indirect imperialist exploitation. One of the most radical means is establishing control over their natural resources and nationalizing

⁸Kuchinskiy, Yu., "The Unequality of Economic Development of Capitalism is Increasing." PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1968, No 10-11, pp 52-55.

⁹Semenov, V. S. "Internationalism and National Progress," Moscow, MYSL', 1978, p 400.

¹⁰Brutents, K. N. OSVOBODIVSHIYESYA STRANY V TO-ye GODY [LIBERATED NATIONS IN THE SEVENTIES], Moscow, Politizdat, 1979, pp 88-89.

foreign enterprises. During the period since the middle of the 1950's until the beginning of the 1970's over two-thirds of all foreign plantations and one-third of all foreign trade organizations were nationalized in developing countries. During the course of the last decade, the majority of the developing oil-producing nations nationalized (fully or partially) foreign enterprises.¹¹ Anti-imperialist principles have also become stronger in the activity of regional associations of developing states which appeared at joint statements from participating nations in these associations against imperialist powers and the policy of neo-colonialism and for equality in international relations. Simultaneously, the young states are ever increasing cooperation with socialist nations. In particular, an important help in their struggle for economic independence is their cooperation with the Soviet Union. It is not by chance that the scale of this cooperation is steadily expanding. Thus, the volume of economic and technological interaction of the USSR with developing nations increased in 1977 by 6.2-fold in comparison with 1960, including 5.2-fold with the nations of Asia and 8.3-fold with the nations of Africa.¹²

In spite of the contradiction of the modern development of foreign economic ties of liberated nations, in the final analysis, these ties will unavoidably entail internationalization of their economic life. Moreover, this process embraces various levels which permeate not only international (all-world) and regional scales, but also state ones. In the latter case, foreign economic relations seem to be imposed upon domestic state economic ties appearing not only in the role of their catalyst, but also a significant addition. On the whole, these domestic state economic ties present a general basis for ethnic and social processes in developing nations.

Under the conditions of capitalism, along with a social and economic sphere, a tendency towards breaking down national barriers appeared in the cultural area also. It was particularly well expressed in the so-called "mass culture," which has a contradictory character in its function. On the other hand, it would apparently be a simplification not to take into account the fact that here culture which is distributed via mass communication, "destroyed the isolation of the cities and areas which 100 years ago did not have communication with one another. It brought with it general information concerning what was happening in the world, took the place of provincial boredom, fist fights, bear hunting and public executions, which along with religious holidays, were the only form of entertainment for the masses for many centuries."¹³ On the other hand, it is necessary to underscore that in the capitalist world, "mass culture" is

¹¹Semenov, V. S., loc. cit, pp 406-407.

¹²Brutents, K. N., loc. cit, p 135.

¹³"Nations and Peoples. The World and Man," MYSL', 1978, p 323.

used for the daily treatment of social consciousness, for instilling conformity, and making spiritual life standard and primitive. "Book publishers, cinema industry workers and organizers of television transmission, following financial success, put into line production low quality products and 'lowered' standards. Praise for the 'consumer society,' speculation on base tastes, propaganda on the cult of power, and the perversion of man's psychology became definitive features of the 'mass culture' of the capitalist civilization. At the same time, the means of mass communication are widely used by imperialist powers in order to impose their own reactionary attitudes, tastes, stereotype behavior, and models and expressions of culture upon other nations."¹⁴

The tendency towards the internationalization of spiritual life, which in the capitalist world mainly assumes the form of "mass culture," is combined with the tendency towards cultural differentiation. The latter, in particular, appears in the burst of elements of traditional epos in many countries, in the creation of original works of professional art, and in the unique combination of original elements of culture with standardized and mass ones. This is particularly characteristic for such a spiritual element as ideology within the area of which the stand of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are deeply antagonistic. In short, both trends of national development under the conditions of capitalism are sharply contradictory in the area of culture also.

The unevenness of social and economic development of nations in the world under the conditions of capitalism caused the great diversity of ethnic processes, their rates, and types and varieties. Of significant importance for these processes are the ethnic parameters of these peoples which proceed from them on the basis of which they unfold: first, nation or nationality; second, several nationalities; third, not only nationalities but also tribes and so on.

It is worth indicating that for ethnic processes and relations in political states of the capitalist world the character of their political structure has tremendous significance: the degree of its democratization, the presence or absence of sharply expressed ethnic discrimination and so on. As a rule, this type of discrimination impedes ethnic assimilation and, on the contrary, strengthens the unity and solidarity of the ethnic society and gives rise to its struggle for liberation. Besides this, the range of various ethnic societies in bourgeois states is quite wide. It ranges from ethno-racial discrimination to apartheid in relationship to colonial peoples to solving such national problems on the basis of bourgeois--democratic principles, as in Switzerland, where the basic nationalities, as V. I. Lenin noted, "lived together peacefully or peacefully separate from one another..." (COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS, Vol 23, p 149). But the latter is sooner the exception, than the rule. On the whole, under capitalism ethno-social processes have a contradictory and antagonistic

¹⁴Ibid., p 324.

character and from the moment of its emersion they are accompanied by an established privileged situation or even with direct rule of one nation over another. Moreover, the national self-awareness of the workers which develops in the course of the struggle for "their own" rule, is used by the bourgeoisie in order to kindle nationalism which was put into the service of its imperialistic claims.

The expanding scientific and technical revolution today intensifies the contradiction of the ethnic processes in capitalistic countries. On the one hand, urbanization and standardization are typical of it and lead to greater internationalization of everyday life culture; and on the other hand, the development of the means for mass communication promotes an increase in ethnic self-awareness among the broadest levels of the population. This is particularly acute among those ethnic groups which find themselves in an unequal situation in the state, for the dissemination of information makes this common knowledge and therefore an unbearable inequality. This to a great extent explains the basic ethnic paradox of the modern capitalist world, and namely the fact that, despite the great internationalization of every-day life, further sharpening of international relations continues. A typical example can be the clash between the Flemish and the Walloons in Belgium, the opposition between the French and English-Canadians and so on.

At the basis of all of these inter-ethnic contradictions, just as in the ethnic processes as a whole, lies an entire complex of social and economic, political, and ideological factors. Usually they are closely intertwined with one another, although at first either one or the other appears. In regards to definite causes for inter-ethnic friction and conflicts, is that they can have quite incidental features, as it was during the time of the "football war" between Honduras and Salvador.¹⁵

Finally, the vast majority, if not the entire inter-ethnic contradiction, is defined by social and economic factors. This is particularly clear in those cases when as a result of unequal social and economic development, which is inherent to imperialism, the relationship and role of individual ethnic groups change inside the life of multi-ethnic states. In particular, the deterioration of the economic situation among individual ethnic societies is one of the fundamental reasons for the aggravated opposition within Great Britain. This is primarily a post-World War II decline of the traditional branches of the economy of Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales (shipbuilding, textile industry, coal mining and so on); new branches of industry are developing weakly here which leads to an increase in unemployment.

¹⁵We have in mind the 1969 conflict between Salvador and Honduras, which had been preceded by an acute sports rivalry between the football teams of these nations for the right to participate in Mexico in a match for the Jules Rimel Cup (see Leonov, M. S. "Ethnic Aspects of the Salvador-Honduras Conflict," RASY I NARODY, Vol 1, pp 213-220).

A significant source for inter-ethnic opposition is the lack of social, class, and ethnic interest convergence, the political rule of one nation over another, a discrepancy in political and ethnic boundaries, different religious affiliation of the ethnic groups or their components and so on.

The working class and its revolutionary vanguard--the Marxist-Leninist Party denounce the reactionary ideology of national inequality and support the national feelings of oppressed nations to the extent and since they have "a general democratic content against oppression..." (V. I. Lenin. COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS, Vol 25, pp 275-276).

Marxism-Leninism views the national liberation movement as a necessary prerequisite for the broad unfolding of the struggle of oppressed peoples for socialism. Along with this, it is perfectly clear to Marxist-Leninists that the national problem can be completely solved only with the liquidation of antagonistic classes which is a cardinal prerequisite to eradicating all types of oppression and inequality, including those in the area of national relations. It is exactly for this reason that the influence of the working class ideas upon modern ethnic processes is fully expressed only under the conditions of a socialist society. Over 50 years of experience in national-state construction in our country clearly attests to this.

Upon studying the national processes in our country under the conditions of socialism, it should be underscored that it would be a mistake to mechanically transfer to them concepts on the tendencies which operate under capitalism. For the economic basis of a nation, its class structure, spiritual aspect, that is everything which characterizes a particular social-historical type of life, fundamentally changes as a result of transferring from capitalism to socialism. This had to influence the ethnic parameters of national societies. At the same time, if the purely class characteristics of the nation fundamentally change under an alteration in the form, then its inherent ethnic characteristics are preserved to a great extent.

Consequently, between the two tendencies in the area of national relations which operate under capitalism and under socialism, there exists both continuity and qualitative differences. The tendency for national development is transformed under the conditions of socialism by the influence of such new laws of national relations as the confirmation of racial equality, nationalities and languages, self-determination of the peoples, and equalizing the level of economic and culture development. Under socialism the process of the interaction of nations occurs on another economic and social basis.

The fundamental transformation of the character of the socialist tendencies which we are studying, to a great extent are also connected with cardinal changes in the role of a subjective factor. The point is, that for thousands of years of the history of mankind, the reform of integrating tendencies in its development was not adequately reflected in the social consciousness.

Having destroyed the antagonistic classes and by that token, having eliminated the social basis for the antagonism between nations, socialism, along with this, added to the development of the two tendencies in the national issue, a character of recognizable legality.

The tendencies of development and drawing together of nations create, as is well known, such an interrelation of nationalism and internationalism under the conditions of socialism. In various aspects of life of the society, they are expressed in a variety of manners, but their interrelationship is seen everywhere. In particular, it appears quite clearly in the area of economics. On the scale of the world socialist system, this is expressed by the deeper specialization and cooperation which represents one of the characteristic features of economic cooperation between peoples. The presence within each socialist nation of its own economic particular features requires the coordination of private, national interests with the general and international ones. It is exactly because of the fraternal mutual assistance, the transfer to communism in a number of countries took less time than in the USSR. The existence of a world system of socialism allows even those countries in which the achievement of revolutionary reforms begins under the rule of pre-capitalist production relations, to approach socialist construction. History shows that building socialism in cooperation with fraternal nations is much easier than what had to be done in the Soviet Union, which in its own time was the first and only socialist nation.

A most clear example of the internationalization of the socialist economy on an international scale is the realization of the socialist economic integration within the framework of cooperation among nations united under the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. Within this cooperation, strong international economic proportions play a greater and greater role, a greater number of production facilities is beginning to develop according to a generally agreed upon plan, and the role of inter-government economic associations is increasing. As a result, the development of international production relations is assuming a more important significance for the economic progress of individual nations which are members of CEMA and for equalizing the level of their economic development. For example, to demonstrate, in these nations in the course of 15 years (from 1961 until 1975) the national income increased by over a factor of 2.5 (within developed capitalist countries it was by a factor of 1.9, respectively).

Under the conditions of socialism, the tendencies to develop and have nations draw together is brightly seen in the area of social-class relations. For the development of a social structure of the nation which is typical for a socialist society, simultaneously also means the creation of a single type of social parameters within the scale of our nation and the entire cooperating group of socialist states.

The intensive process is continuing for the greater drawing together of the spiritual life of the Soviet people and the peoples of other nations of socialist cooperation, and primarily, strengthening their ideological

community. Along with general social-economic prerequisites, the diverse form of joint ideological activity, the intensive exchange of cultural items of value, and the unity of scientific potentials play an important role. In particular, cooperation of socialist nations in the area of enlightenment and education is being realized on a broad scale. Here a significant position is occupied by the mutual training of personnel. From the 1950's until the beginning of the 1970's over 50,000 students from other socialist countries completed higher educational facilities in the USSR.¹⁶ Significant steps have recently been attained by the exchange of scientific and technical information between socialist nations. For these purposes, there has been a special international information system formed on scientific works which contains reports on approximately four million documents.¹⁷

The expanding cultural ties play an important role in drawing together the spiritual life of socialist nations. Such are the creative meetings of writers, artists, art critics, festivals for various types of art, exhibitions, days of culture, regular radio and television broadcasts, the combined work of representatives from the artistic intelligentsia of various nations concerning creating artistic works, and so forth.

All of these increasing contacts significantly promote evening out the cultural level as well as strengthening the ideological community of the spiritual life of the nations of socialist cooperation. Moreover, the role of joint planning and international division of labor in the area of science, education, and the spiritual culture of socialist nations is growing stronger and their general "spiritual production" is forming.¹⁸ As a result, a new socialist (communist) civilization is developing¹⁹--an important step on the road to the emergence of a future single culture which is common to all of mankind.

Thus, in the modern world there are two fundamental types of internationalization of social life. On one hand it is the harmonious unfolding socialist type of internationalization which represents a qualitatively new form of economic, social, cultural and political drawing together of the peoples. On the other hand, are the processes of capitalist internationalization which have cardinal differences from the internationalization under the conditions of socialism. They are expressed, primarily, in the fact that capitalist internationalization is achieved under the banner of increasing antagonistic contradictions between classes and nationalities. It is

¹⁶MARXIST-LENINIST TEACHINGS ON SOCIALISM AND THE PRESENT, Moscow, 1975, p 349.

¹⁷Sumarokov, L., "The General Fund of Knowledge," PRAVDA, 29 Sep 79.

¹⁸Iovchuk, M. T., "The Internationalism of Socialist Culture," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1976, No 12, pp 34-35.

¹⁹Mchedlov, M., "On the Question of Establishing a Communist Civilization," KOMMUNIST, 1976, No 14, pp 35-36.

significant that if under socialism internationalization is consciously directed, then under the conditions of capitalism the fundamental movement of the power of the internationalization process is the uncontrolled race for profit which gives this process a catastrophic character, which leads to destructive and inhuman results.

The tendency for internationalization is conducted, however, not only within the frameworks of the two world systems, but also on a global scale. An important role in this belongs to the economic ties between socialist and capitalist nations whose scales are ever increasing. Essentially, a new agreement-legal base of cooperation has been created. Along with mutual trade agreements, new forms of economic cooperation were developed-- industrial cooperation, compensatory agreements, scientific and technical as well as other types of ties.

One of the specific manifestations of the process of internationalization under modern conditions is the unfolding international cooperation in the area of so-called global problems: energy, natural resources, defense of the surrounding area, space, utilization of the resources of the world ocean, elimination of the more dangerous and communicative diseases. In order to solve these problems, which touch upon the interest of all of mankind, considerable expenditures of time and material resources are necessary. It is namely for this reason that their development stubbornly requires international scientific and technical cooperation, and a unity in the efforts of scholars from various nations. An important role in the internationalization of the achievements of science belongs to various international scientific organizations, scientific forum, and an international exchange of specialists.

Striving to break national barriers on world-wide scales also affected culture, although in its various components, this tendency is not expressed in the same manner. The processes of internationalization are particularly clear in material culture. This was expressed in the broad distribution in the area of production as well as in the everyday life of a variety of industrial-standardized goods: from machine guns and motor vehicles to accessories used everyday (such as clothing, furniture, food and so on). Individual stereotyped daily activity (for example, handshaking, street traffic rules and so on) are assuming a more international character.

The tendencies of internationalization were also reflected in the area of spiritual culture. In this respect, the development under the conditions of a scientific-technical revolution of the means for mass communication was of tremendous significance, first of all in the various types of information circulation: books, movies, radio, television, as well as international festivals, exchanges among prominent figures of culture and so on. All of this created conditions for disseminating on a global scale the same elements of spiritual culture: from works of art and artistic literature to such widely distributed entertainment as mass spectacles, sports, tourism, and so on.

Increasing the similarities between world socialism and capitalism in the area of technology, material culture, and individual components of spiritual life, as is known, is frequently used by bourgeois propaganda workers for confirming the smoothing out of differences between the two world systems and about their convergence. Moreover, they ignore the fundamental social and class differences of these systems which determine the diametric opposition of their ideologies, social and political goals and cultivated spiritual values.

At the same time, differences in the social structure and ideology of socialist and capitalist countries do not appear to be hinderances for developing business relations between them under conditions on which they are based on principles of non-interference in the internal affairs and for mutual benefit. The particular features of the modern scientific and technical progress make this type of interrelationship between two social and economic systems unavoidable. And this, in its turn, requires further work and expansion of the international relaxation of tensions, and changing peaceful coexistence into a long-range active factor of world development.

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National Relations Under Mature Socialism

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[Article by M. Kulichenko, head of National Relations Sector of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] The building of communism in our country determines the most penetrating reforms in all areas of social life. In them, a most important place belongs to processes of national interrelations. The rapid emersion of nations and nationalities in the USSR is accompanied, naturally, by the arrival of new national values, the preservation and, in a number of cases, an increase in their role in the life of the peoples. At the same time, internationalization becomes more thorough, and nations and nationalities grow closer together. Along with the national, the international values have a steadily advancing significance in our socialist society.

Let us briefly look at the essence and form of the manifestations of national and international factors at the present stage of development of the Soviet society and their relationship and perspective development in the near future.

As it is known, nationalism appears and exists as a reflection of the conditions of life of the peoples and their adaptation to these conditions. It represents specific features of material and spiritual culture, the consciousness and psychology of the people, special features of their historical development, and the interrelationships with other nationalities. Within nationalism, that which pertains to social and ethnic life is closely intertwined. Moreover, the ethnic appears more often throughout the ages. The social aspect, which is constantly renewed, plays a determining role in its essence and development. If the ethnic aspect--the language, the material culture which is peculiar to a given nation,

national art, traditions, customs, rites, and particular features of the consciousness and psychology--this is the most conservative and mostly non-class aspect of nationalism, then the most lively aspect of it is the social, economic and ideological-political feature which, naturally, always carries a class character.

It was exactly for this reason that V. I. Lenin called upon us to bear in mind the "class scale of national development" (COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS, Vol 36, p 98). But this does not mean that the ethnic in the national life of the peoples can be treated as something which is secondary. Academician Yu. V. Bromley is completely correct in asserting that that which is ethnic is a very essential aspect of nationalism, moreover it is necessary, for without it it is impossible for nationalism to exist.

Internationalism is composed of values, phenomena and processes which appear and are expressed in the course of mutual influence and the mutual enrichment of the peoples, and of their social-economic, political and cultural development. According to V. I. Lenin, internationalism is inter-nation and inter-nationality. Our understanding of "internationalism" is that it is that which is progressive in the life of the peoples, that which by its qualitative characteristics goes beyond the limits of national boundaries and its utilization by only one nation or nationality which becomes jointly significant for a part or for all, that is, in essence, a part of their national life and national development.

In the Soviet reality, which represents definite conditions for the vital activity of workers, even now, at the stage of developed socialism, nations and nationalities, national and ethnic groups, national characteristics of the people are being preserved, and national relations are included in the system of social relations. An objective fact is that socialism expressed its advantage over capitalism in this: it solved the national problem; eliminated national oppression, inequality and the exploitation of man by man; secured an authentic free development of the people and made their interrelationships truly fraternal; it gave rise to such new factors as friendship among peoples, their comprehensive cooperation and mutual assistance. Because of this the close unity, comprehensive growth and the steady drawing together of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union appear as a law of the development of socialism. International aspects have an objective character in its nature and features of a single national economic organization of the country, a common government, all-soviet culture, patriotism, and its component part--the All-Soviet pride which belongs to all.

The party proceeds from the fact that the nations and nationalities of the USSR are full of life even today and for a long time will dispose of the rich possibilities for their development. A necessary condition for the progress of the entire Soviet society is the constant concern for creating maximum favorable conditions for the flourishing of each nation and

nationality--the social requirement of socialism under the conditions of a multi-national state. This increases the conditions for contributions from each nation and nationality into the common cause of the construction of communism. The flourishing of the nations greatly formulates and deepens as well as expands the possibility to express common needs in their drawing together, in strengthening friendship and in international unity. "The more intensive the economic and social development of each national republic," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "the more clear is the process of internationalization of our entire life" (L. I. Brezhnev, *LENIN'S COURSE*, Vol 4, p 59). The dialectics of the objective process is now such that intensifying the international origin is becoming constant and the main condition for the further flourishing of the national, and the increasing drawing together, cooperation, mutual enrichment of the nations are leading to new heights of economic, political, and spiritual blossoming of each of them.

Communist construction places in first place as one of the tasks for securing it, the comprehensive strengthening of the friendship and international unity of peoples within the composition of a new historical community--the Soviet people. Moreover, the party proceeds from the fact that in the process of creating a classless society, the friendship of nations and their international unity will unavoidably strengthen and flourish and the role of each of them will grow stronger as a motivating power for the further progress of the Soviet community. The significance of the existence of national societies under modern conditions, undoubtedly, is also great in the plan for improving socialist social relations and their change to communist ones, and in the work of transforming old and creating new riches of national culture. The role of national communities in the education of the growing generation and enriching the inner-world of the soviet people in general and forming the new man, in particular, must not be ignored.

The profound processes of the drawing together of nations which have developed in our country are occurring under the conditions of careful consideration for national particular features and the development of socialist national cultures. In the flourishing of the nations and nationalities, the democratic, humanitarian ideals and fundamental principles of socialism are embodied. In the most decisive manner, this disproves the anti-communist conjectures concerning that it would seem, according to the opinion of Marxists-Leninists, the national aspect in the life of the peoples contradicts socialism. Actually, communists actively support all that is progressive in nationalism and reject only that in its content and form which retards the progress of the peoples, weakens their unity, and impedes the formation of the new man--the builder of the classless society.

Under the modern conditions of our country, progressive nationalism has a number of important characteristics. First of all, it develops on an international basis and is permeated with a class-internationalist spirit in connection with which it not only does not increase national differences, but on the contrary, promotes their weakening. Now improving national

forms is determined not only by, and sometimes not so much by special features which occurred in the past, not even by the achievements in national development, but to a great extent by the level of the progress of the entire soviet society at the stage of mature socialism. Hence, the improvement of national forms and the achieved level of their internationalization and universality are not the same for all nations. The main differences among nations are not only in these forms, which externally are often identical, but also in the specific manifestations of each of them and of all of them together and in the specific features reflecting some aspect of national life. The newly created national values are socialist in content and therefore not only enrich the nation creating them, but also all soviet nations as a new historical community.

All the foundations exist to assert the fact that the sum of the new national values (which arose during the years of Soviet power) in the life of our peoples, plays a significantly greater role than those created during the pre-revolutionary period. The criteria for interpreting nationalism are also changing: earlier, only the differences between nations were seen in it, but now greater significance is assigned to the common features among nations and nationalities. With the confirmation in our country of a mature socialism, the national factors in the life of the people and their interrelationships, to a great extent were displaced (and are being displaced even now) from the political and economic area into the social-psychological one, in the area of spiritual life.

Concern for carrying out the tasks set by the 25th CPSU Congress on making the content more profound and improving patriotic and internationalist education of workers acquired particular significance in scientific research and propaganda work. In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" as well as in the report given by member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade M. A. Suslov at the All-Union conference of ideological workers, it was noted that the interdependence and unity of these two forms of ideological--political activity of the party, among the masses appears as respect towards the national dignity of the people, towards national cultures, as well as an intolerance towards a relapse of nationalism and chauvinism.

Along with the necessity for considering the place and role of national factors in the life of the people, it must be underscored, that at the present time in this issue "a national architect is necessary," the necessity for which V. I. Lenin wrote about during the first years of Soviet power (COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS, Vol 50, p 35). In overcoming the negative phenomena which still appear in the content and forms of the national life of the peoples, and in every way possible assisting the consolidation and development of positive elements, the Communist Party pays particular attention to regulating the relationships between national and international factors. In essence, this is the central issue of its Leninist national policy. At the stage of the gradual transformation of

mature socialism into communism, it assumes an even more urgent significance.

The scientific criterion for the analysis of relationships between nationalism and internationalism under socialism was given by V. I. Lenin. During the summer of 1913 he expressed the idea that the process of internationalization of the entire economic, political and spiritual life of mankind, which grows stronger under capitalism, will be completed under socialism. V. I. Lenin wrote that socialism "will totally internationalize" all aspects of the life of the people. This most important theoretical and methodological thesis exposes the dialectics of the change in the relationship of nationalism and internationalism in the life of the people, which naturally, reflects the tendency for the nations to flourish and draw closer together. It follows from this, that first of all, at certain stages of socialist development of nations, some portion of nationalism remains unsubjected to internationalism, that is, it carries a national-specific character; secondly, the change in the relationships between nationalism and internationalism is definitely going in the direction of a gradual change of the first into the second; thirdly, since internationalism is not non-national, then the internationalization of nationalism does not at all mean the liquidation of the latter. Not only does it exist after it is internationalized, but it preserves its relative independence and continues to play an important role in the life of the people.

The process of changing the relationship of the national and international, as the experience of the development of the Soviet society shows, takes several directions. First of all, a constant renewal occurs of national values that arose earlier and in the creation of new ones—to the extent that this is required by the progress of the nation and nationality. New national values, according to the level of their maturity, are usually those which acquire a character of general significance. Therefore, remaining national for a given people, they simultaneously are also an international value for a number of other nations and nationalities or for the entire fraternal family. In its turn, national borrowing of national achievements made by other peoples leads to a renewal and enrichment of their own national values and to their gradual improvement to the level of internationalism. Finally, the process of internationalist penetration of nationalism continues when some value of the people assumes elements which are of common significance, international, and in connection with which it often also becomes recognized by all or many peoples.

For the first time in science, the question concerning the relationship between nationalism and internationalism was exposed by the founders of scientific communism. As F. Engels writes, "in the workers' movement authentically national ideas, that is ideas which answer economic factors in industry just as in agriculture, and factors which rule in the respective nation, are at the same time always authentically international ideas" (K. Marx and F. Engels, WORKS, Vol 33, p 374). "...international culture is not without nationalism...", noted V. I. Lenin (COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS, Vol 24, p 120).

As we see, both F. Engels and V. I. Lenin underscore the dialectic inter-relationship of nationalism and internationalism. Unfortunately, in our literature and propaganda speeches, nationalism and internationalism as a specific and general feature, in forms and content are often viewed according to a principle of contrast—"on the one hand" and "on the other hand." V. I. Lenin, exposing the essence of the common philosophical thesis on that which is common and that which is separate, writes that they are interdependent; moreover, "part of it must conform to the circumstances of the whole, and not visa versa" (COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS, Vol 15, p 362). Attempts to prove that internationalism already exists or will exist alone, without nationalism, are completely unfounded since the first cannot exist without the second. "The general," indicates V. I. Lenin, "exists only separately through that which is separate. All that is separate (one way or another) is general...all that is general only approximately includes all separate items. All that is separate is not completely included into the general..." (COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS, Vol 29, p 318).

From the above cited thesis, F. Engels continues that in internationalism not all of the national aspects are seen, but the authentic national ones are. V. I. Lenin also writes that international culture includes within itself not all that is within the national cultures since in a class society it can also have a reactionary character, and it includes from each one "exclusively its consistently democratic and socialist elements" (COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS, Vol 23, p 318). The Soviet reality convincingly attests to the fact that in the period of a mature socialism, in the relationship between nationalism and internationalism, there is progress made towards the latter. A thorough analysis of the nature of these progressions gives a foundation for the conclusion that in this case the issue is not about forcing out nationalism by internationalism. If one may speak about the weakening of the social role of nationalism in the life of the people, then this is first, not in any way the result of the manifestation of a subjective factor and of the official course of the party and state. Secondly, even if the given process is to be understood as an objective one, then this is by no means the result of the action of international factors. The point is that besides the relationship between the national and international there is also another relationship: all-social and national, in other words—common to all people and national. V. I. Lenin had them in mind when he spoke of the world-historical tendency of the dissolution of national differences.

The profound and multi-faceted process of internationalization of all aspects in the life of the people, the basis for the development of which is the development of production capacities and not the autonomous process of strengthening the positions of international aspects, leaves behind itself two important results: the first and main one is the change in the relationship between nationalism and internationalism to the advantage of internationalism; second--the weakening in the position of nationalism in comparison with aspects which are common to mankind and not just international ones.

It should be taken into consideration that in the culture of each nation there are borrowed national aspects which appear as something unique in the life of some individual nationality, then becomes international and significant for many or portions of peoples. The relationship of such a national aspect which already is simultaneously and international one, with national-particular and national-specific steadily increases in the culture, although this process can in no way be called one of displacement. Actually in the majority of cases, the transformation of the national into the international has a place.

The unity and indivisibility of national and international factors within a new historical community--is of great interest. The discussion concerns their harmony both in the functioning of the society, and especially in the life of each nation and nationality which composes it. The harmony between nationalism and internationalism within social development, as it is known, had a place during the first years of Soviet power, but the present one significantly differs from it. Therefore, speaking in terms of conformity for that stage and the present stage concerning internationalism as a general feature and nationalism as a specific one in the life of the people, as it is done by certain researchers, is not completely accurate. Under the conditions of developed socialism, only such a division of them unintentionally leads to an inexact characteristic of the real situation. For the dialectics of interrelationships and interconditionality of the national and international aspects, today the mutual transfer of one into another is characteristic. There are many values of life which, having appeared as a property of a single definite nation, according to the level of its maturity they correspond to the needs of the national development of many other peoples or their groups.

We do not see anything unusual in the fact that under the conditions of profound processes of mutual influence and mutual enrichment of national cultures, such values become the common property and appear, consequently, as international ones. A mechanical differentiation of the general and particular here, although to a certain extent it is justified, and sometimes necessary, can distort the real picture on the relations between nationalism and internationalism in the development of a new historical community and can even interfere with the further drawing together of the nations and nationalities included in it.

What national values of the peoples already now assume an international character and how and to what extent does nationalism become internationalism? Apparently, these are those which having appeared as the property of one or another nationality and being adequately mature at the level of its development, simultaneously fully meet All-Union standards, that is, the interests of the entire fraternal family of nations. These nations perceive such a property as fully suitable to their national interests and include it--with certain changes (giving it a certain national originality) or without them--into their national life. At the same time, such a creation also enters into the treasure house of soviet

multi-national culture, that is, it is national and international at the same time. The dialectics of the relationship between the national and the international and changing the first into the second is composed of (and will be composed of, while they exist) primarily of mutual changes and mutually penetrating aspects determined by the level of maturity of each and the needs of the social progress of the nation.

In the CPSU Program, it says that the soviet people of various nationalities have developed characters which have common characteristics of a spiritual aspect and through the new type of social relations, the best traditions of the peoples have been engendered and manifested in it. In the process of communist construction, these common characteristics of the nations will undergo a test by life, or they will become even stronger and flourish, or they will disappear, giving way to new ones. Studying the question on the future of the nations, it is necessary in the course of realizing Lenin's national policy, to see and bear in mind those shoots of new things which attest to the tendencies towards developing relations among nations and nationalities. Strict scientific consideration for prospects is particularly necessary in connection with the fact that already under modern conditions, people in one way or another conduct themselves in a way which is dependent on their understanding of the future development of national communities.

Above we have discussed that national and international factors are mutually determined. The development of either of them is possible not at the expense of the other, but to a great extent, by enriching one by the other. That is why all of the foundations exist for saying that the more significant the international values are that will be created, which by itself, remain national ones, the greater is the range provided for developing a specific aspect of the nation and the clearer and brighter, richer and colorful will be the national life and its influence on their progress.

Relatively speaking, prospects for the blending together of nations can be cited in many statements of Marxist-Leninist classics concerning the fact that in the future a natural blending together will occur on the basis of the deterioration of national differences. This situation is by no means determined by national nihilism and not at all by a lack of adequate evaluation given to the role of the nationalist factors in the progress of mankind. The explanation of this is in the deep conviction of the Marxist-Leninist classics concerning that in the course of the progress, national frameworks will be too confining and the division of people by nationality will be unnecessary and would even hinder progress. V. I. Lenin, as it is known, spoke out against making national divisions permanent. He wrote that the proletariat "not only tries not to hold back the national development of each country, but on the contrary, warns the masses against such illusions," "supports all which assists the deterioration of national differences..." (COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS, Vol 24, p 133). Already in the post-October period, V. I. Lenin, paying attention to the fact that national differences would remain "for a very very long time even after

the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world-wide scale..." (COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS, Vol 41, p 77), by that token answered the question concerning whether these differences could be considered permanent.

The Soviet nation now finds itself at such a stage when all areas of its life, including the development of nations and national relations, must flourish, as V. I. Lenin said, from the standpoint of an already mature socialist society. This means that we have reached such levels of social progress, when the tasks are within our capability and which have a fundamental character in realizing the programs of communist construction. In the plan of national relations these tasks are comprised of going further along the road to solidarity, unity, comprehensive drawing together of nations and nationalities, and creating maximum favorable conditions for having each of them flourish. Moreover, of very important significance is the exact establishment of the real situation at the levels of the development of international and national aspects and in their relationships.

All of the nations of the USSR realize in their minds and in their hearts, that their power is in the friendship and unity, in the solidarity around the CPSU, and in its leadership of communist construction. Preserving their progressive national characteristics and in every way possible developing the constantly unfolding international traits which arise in their life and are common to all, the nations of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are confidently moving towards their bright future.

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REGIONAL

NEW GEORGIAN INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION DISCUSSED

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 7 Dec 79 p 3

[Gruzinform interview with State Committee for Science and Technology Chairman and GSSR Academy of Sciences Vice President I. Gverdtsiteli: "New School. Institute of Administration of the National Economy Prepares Management Cadres"]

[Text] In his speech at the November 1979 CPSU CC Plenum, CPSU CC General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Comrade L. I. Brezhnev commented on the vital necessity under present conditions of raising the level of administration in the fullest meaning of that word. It is that purpose which is served by the CPSU CC and USSR Council of Ministers decree on perfecting the economic mechanism.

The other day the GCP CC and the GSSR Council of Ministers adopted a joint decree creating a new school in the republic, in the GSSR State Committee for Science and Technology--the Institute of Administration of the National Economy.

Gruzinform asked State Committee for Science and Technology Chairman and Republic Academy of Sciences Vice President I. Gverdtsiteli to answer a few questions concerning the creation of this vital economic training center for the preparation of top-link management cadres in the republic.

[Question] Esteemed Irakli, would you please explain the background of the new institute and the tasks it will have.

[Answer] The party and the government have always paid special attention to the task of upgrading the qualifications of management cadres. The steady growth of the national economy, the increasing complexity of its structure, and the sharp acceleration in the pace of production all impose new demands on managers of all ranks.

The November 1979 CPSU CC Plenum and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech there again focused urgent attention on the high demands our party now imposes on management cadres who must study and make practical use of advanced administration techniques, who must have a sense of the new, who can see the long-term prospects of production development, who can find effective ways to resolve the problems that arise.

The recent GCP CC plenum, which made an overall analysis of the current tasks of the republic's party organization in light of Georgia's further economic and social development with regard to improving cadre selection, placement, and indoctrination, mapped out ways to resolve these tasks in an integrated way.

The purpose of the new institute--the republic's key school in this sector--is to raise the quality of management cadre training to a new level, so that they will have the ability to cope with the big tasks facing Georgia's economy.

The institute is also responsible for coordinating the activities of the republic's network of qualification's upgrading faculties and courses.

At present in the republic we are working out and adopting more than 50 automated control systems for various purposes. Their work will be coordinated within the republic automated control system. In connection with this, various sectors of the economy are making wider use of economic-mathematical and other techniques for making management decisions. We are making extensive use of modern mathematical equipment and computers. Naturally, this means that management cadres will have to have the appropriate training; that is the basic task of the new institute.

The institute will attract highly-qualified cadres both for teaching work and for scientific research into problems of further improving the personnel qualifications upgrading system. The institute's activities will lay the foundation for the extensive use of computers and office machinery in the cadre instruction process.

The institute will have departments of administration of the national economy, social-economic planning and finance, economic-mathematical techniques of administration, computer equipment, and automated control systems. They will provide qualifications upgrading for 400 persons annually. The term of instruction for groups on leave from production will be two months.

Those who come to the institute will be specialists of broad intellectual horizon having significant practical experience--from deputy ministers to enterprise directors. The best way to upgrade professional knowledge in the sphere of administration is to use active techniques of instruction (analyzing concrete situations and so on). This helps to attain the basic goal: The students acquire skills of administration and organization to back up the knowledge acquired in lectures.

The studies are linked to the problems which the student encounters in his practical activities. He can use his acquired knowledge either to resolve these problems or to formulate them intelligently and choose the basic ways to resolve them. The course work will also lay the foundation for former students to maintain permanent contact with the appropriate subunits of the institute.

The new institute's activities will be closely linked to the GSSR State Committee for Science and Technology Institute for Scientific-Technical Information and Technical-Economic Research and the Georgian branch of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology All-Union Scientific-Research Institute of Problems of Organization and Administration.

[Question] In other words, the institute is also involved in carrying out scientific research. Would you please tell us about the basic directions of this research?

[Answer] The institute will include a scientific-research laboratory for system analysis which will deal with especially urgent problems of the administration of the republic's economy and also undertake to work out and introduce advanced techniques of cadre instruction not only in the institute but also in the whole cadre qualifications upgrading network. Scientists and specialists will work in the field of scientific operations research, system analysis, and modeling of economic facilities; their completed studies will be used to prepare recommendations by the republic's directive organs for purposes of choosing the most promising directions in economic development.

The institute will help us to successfully resolve the task set forth at the November 1979 CPSU CC Plenum and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech there--that of comprehensively improving and enhancing the quality of administration of the republic's economy.

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REGIONAL

LAGS IN GEORGIAN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION DISCUSSED

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 14 Dec 79 p 1

[Article by Z. Katsiashvili, department chief, Scientific-Research Institute for the Economics and Planning of the National Economy, under rubric: "Eighteen Days to the End of the Year. Our Economic Review": "For Firm Progress. Initiative--An Irreplaceable Reserve. Fight Inertia"]

[Text] The two weeks that remain until the end of the year will finally "tie up" and summarize what has been planned and actually accomplished, laying the last brick to the foundation on which the year 1980 and then the 11th Five-Year Plan must be based.

As was stated at the 18th GCP CC Plenum, "How well the current economic year's plan is fulfilled will largely determine the success of the entire 10th Five-Year Plan. Meanwhile, we must do everything to prevent any potential lag in the final year of the five-year plan."

From this comes the thesis that if we want to successfully accomplish the main task of the five-year plan--that is, to enhance the people's well-being--we will have to implement with special redoubled, tripled energy (as was stated at the November 1979 CPSU CC Plenum) the party's course of action to raise effectiveness and quality, we will have to master the techniques of perfecting the economic mechanism.

How do the efforts of the republic's industrial workers look against the background of these tasks?

According to the Georgian Central Statistical Administration, in the 11-month period the republic's industrial workers produced 92.753 million rubles of above-plan output. Compared to the same period last year, industrial production volume increased by 6.8 percent, labor productivity increased by 5.4 percent. Eighty-one percent of the overall increase in industrial production output came from increased labor productivity, exceeding planned levels.

Enterprises of light, food, and local industry still retain a higher level of output than the republic average. Outstanding in this regard among union-subordinated enterprises are Gruzneft' Production Association, Gruzgorkhimprom, the Kutaisi Industrial Rubber Products Plant and the Sukhumi Experimental Gas Equipment Plant, the Chiatura Mining Combine, the Rustavi Steel and Iron Foundry, the Tbilisi Elva Scientific-Production Association, the Tbilisi Electric Rail Car Repair Plant imeni Stalin, and others.

The proportion of products bearing the Emblem of Quality now stands at 18.2 percent of the total volume of republic output, exceeding socialist obligations by three percent (in the first 10 months of last year the proportion of such goods did not exceed 10 percent). The proportion of top-category goods stands at 29.9 percent in Kutaisi, 19.4 percent in Tbilisi, 17.9 percent in Adzharia, 17.8 percent in Rustavi, 13.7 percent in Poti, 7.1 percent in South Ossetia, and 6.6 percent in Abkhazia.

The best example of high organization and labor productivity is provided by the collective of the Tbilisi Elektroaparat Association.

The entire increase in industrial output comes from increased labor productivity in the Elektrovostroy Production Association, the Tbilisi Instrument Plant, the Tbilisi Foundry Equipment Plant imeni Kalinin, the Tbilisi Gas Equipment Plant, the Rustavi Metallurgy and Chemical Fibers plants, the Batumi Machine Building Plant, the Batumi Oil Refinery, the Poti Hydraulic Machinery Plant, and others.

Unfortunately, however, not all of the republic's enterprises are contributing to our overall progress to the limits of their capabilities. The Timber and Woodworking Ministry and the Rural Construction Ministry failed to complete the 11-month sales plan. The Construction Materials Ministry, moreover, didn't even manage to complete the production plan. The number of lagging enterprises at year's end, unfortunately, far from declining, actually rose. Seventy of the republic's enterprises failed to complete the production plan and 97 failed to complete the sales plan. In terms of plan fulfillment they had shortfalls of 38 and 50 rubles, respectively. In none of the 11-month periods of previous years of the current plan have lagging enterprises had such big shortfalls in sales plan fulfillment. Among the laggards are such major enterprises as the Tbilisi Gantiadi Furniture Production Association and the Gardabani Rubberoid-Roofing Plant, the Gori Cotton Goods Production Association, the Zestafoni Ferroalloy Plant, the Stankostroy and Gruzpolimerkonteyner production associations, the Tskhinvali Elektrovibromashina, the Shorapani Elektroelement, and others. In the 11 months, 19 union-subordinated enterprises fell almost 20 million rubles short in production plan fulfillment.

One-third of all union-subordinated enterprises are failing to comply with contract-stipulated terms of product delivery. Contract obligations are

being violated by 64.1 percent of the light industry enterprises, 53.1 percent of the construction materials industry enterprises, and 48.4 percent of the local industry enterprises.

Were it not for the fact that 182 enterprises failed to reach last year's levels of production and labor productivity increase in the 11-month period, production could have increased by 8.4 percent and labor productivity by 7.2 percent. According to 10-month figures, profit plan fulfillment fell short by 21.7 million rubles (of which enterprises of the construction materials industry accounted for five million). Failure to meet this vital, generalizing indicator, naturally, results in reduced planned incentive funds for workers in those particular sectors and enterprises. In short, we still have considerable lagging in many sectors. As was stated at the 18th GCP CC Plenum, "It is not enough to explain the causes of the lag--we must liquidate the lag itself."

Our economy is being harmed by the force of inertia. In some places people are working just for the sake of form.

In the 11-month period, the Gantiadi Furniture Production Association fell 528,000 rubles short in production plan fulfillment and 840,000 rubles short in sales plan fulfillment. To be sure, the association's lag is also due to objective factors--it can't get the raw materials necessary to fully carry out its production program. But objective factors alone do not account for the enterprise's lag. Judge for yourself: It is considered that 84 percent of the output norms are technically substantiated. But if these are really substantiated norms, can the level of actual norm fulfillment be 175 percent (194 percent for auxiliary workers)? Also to be noted is the fact that the proportion of manual labor in the enterprise is still high--33.2 percent. Appropriate efforts have not been made in the current five-year plan to raise the level of labor mechanization. The proportion of manual labor has not changed substantially since 1975.

Much has been said and written about the bad practice of revising plans downward. Tbilisi Mechanical Plant No 1 has been completing production and sales plans all right, but these are reduced plans. For example, they reduced the November production plan by 160,000 rubles and added it to the December plan. The result was that the December production plan exceeded the actual level achieved in November by 56 percent, and this kind of artificially inflated plan is practically impossible to fulfill.

A sociological survey taken in 30 industrial enterprises of the republic reveals that of the workers questioned (about 3,000 persons), 72 percent believe they have reserves for raising production effectiveness. Enterprise workers especially singled out such reserves as raising the technical level of production, improving material-technical supply, strengthening material and moral incentive, making fuller use of production equipment, and so on. Nor do these workers hide the fact that the

reserves they have found are only partially reflected in the plan. The main reason for this is that the ministries and departments have not fully overcome the force of inertia, they have failed to achieve the necessary breakthrough with regard to improving quality, boosting labor productivity, and achieving optimal results.

The recent November CPSU CC Plenum mapped out four directions for raising the effectiveness of the national economy: All round activation of socialist competition, with orientation toward quality indicators; support and dissemination of those forms and techniques of advanced experience work which promote increased labor productivity; systematic implementation of conservation measures, rational utilization of material and financial resources; and, finally, efforts against violations of labor discipline, dull-wittedness, and slackening.

In order to carry out the party's plans, it is essential to open up the way to initiative coming from below.

One of the most important ways to enhance the effectiveness of socialist competition is to base it on profit and loss accounting.

Many shortcomings in the organization of socialist competition, such as weak economic substantiation of obligations and a lack of interest in adopting intensive plan targets, are chiefly due to the fact that socialist competition is not always based on profit and loss accounting and is not closely linked to economic levers and incentives.

For example, the initiatives that have had the greatest impact on competition practice in recent years (the crew contract, the Shchekino method, integrated crews, and so on) have been based on profit and loss accounting and reliable indicators that enable us to determine labor quality; this is the main thing in organizing competition.

Special mention must be made of the necessity of strengthening material responsibility. The effectiveness of the material responsibility mechanism depends greatly on both responsible parties. They must be equally responsible. Consider once more the Gantiadi Furniture Production Association. This year the association imposed economic sanctions of 206,000 rubles on its "recalcitrant" raw materials suppliers, but only six percent of this amount was paid. Meanwhile, the association had to pay more than 116,000 rubles for failure to meet contract obligations. This little example shows that equal violations require equal responsibility, material responsibility must serve to stimulate, control, and indoctrinate.

Now we must show special concern for the substantiation of counterplans, including personal plans. The worker's labor productivity increase plan, and the engineer's personal creativity plan, constitutes a concrete document of the person's attitude toward the problems of the five-year

plan. It must be a program reflecting his personal contribution. All too often, unfortunately, such plans in the republic's enterprises include meaningless tasks that actually do not obligate the worker to anything. Starting with the coming year, we must make these plans more concrete, they must more clearly spell out each worker's contribution to the common goals.

The industrial workers' task in December is a difficult and honorable one. In order to ensure that the production plan is completely met in December, the daily output will have to rise 32 percent over the level already achieved. The worth of each day and each minute remaining to the end of the year must be evaluated in accordance with this and be better than the previous one. Everyone, of course, will reach the threshold of the new year, but isn't it better to arrive with something to show for it?

No one anywhere must ever forget that the plan is law, and as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the November CPSU CC Plenum, "Unconditional compliance with the law is an indispensable condition for the successful functioning of the economic mechanism.

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REGIONAL

'SHABASHNIKI' PROBLEM IN GEORGIAN RURAL RAYONS

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 18 Dec 79 p 2

[Article by GSSR First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs V. Shaduri (Gruzinform): "Paths to Big Money. . . "]

[Text.] In the Dmanisskiy Rayon Village Amamlo you will see brand new but. . .unroofed houses.

You find the same thing in other villages of the rayon, which were damaged by an earthquake early this year. The GCP CC, the republic's government, and local party and soviet organs undertook prompt measures to clean up the results of the natural disaster, for which they mobilized a work force and allocated considerable funds, equipment, and building materials. But it's been almost two years now and hardly 50 percent of the restoration work has been completed in many villages.

Could it be that the people of Dmanisskiy Rayon had other urgent tasks and were too busy? Not at all. The fact is that with the onset of spring many able-bodied men leave their home villages and go to seek big money outside the republic--to Siberia and the Urals, to Kazakhstan and Magadan. . .

Hundreds of men from six selsovits alone (there are 13 in the rayon) have gone elsewhere to seek their fortunes.

What can you say about a man who leaves his home, who goes away knowing that buildings remain unroofed, that children can't go to school, that in order to buy bread and food women have to walk to the rayon center in the blazing heat of summer or the freezing cold of winter? Sometimes, family tragedies result from the temporary separation of man and wife. One K. Kurbanov went away to Voronezhskaya Oblast to earn big money. A month went by, a year; nothing was heard from the man. His wife wrote to various authorities and asked them to bring her husband back home to the children. (Later on it turned out that K. Kurbanov had established a new family in the new location). The desperate mother abandoned her home and left her four children with her aged mother-in-law. What fate will befall the little ones?

Person who spend long periods away from home are not listed in the selsovits and military commissariats. This is a gross violation of the law. Seven construction crews from Georgia were working in the Voronezhskaya Oblast Village of Bobrov, but only two of the "builders" had labor booklets. The outfits they worked for drew up labor contracts anyway. The managers didn't even know that such contracts are illegal.

Some officials in Dmanisskiy Rayon account for the manpower turnover by saying that work there is seasonal, lasting only one or two months. This is no excuse. After the earthquake, there is plenty of work in almost every village. In fact, just a few kilometers away from Dmanisi a new industrial center has been built--Madneuli, which employs hundreds of workers and specialists, including some who come from other republics.

There may be those who disagree with me: After all, they say, the people are working, they are not sitting idle, they are not just passing the time. What's wrong with that? At first glance it might seem that there is nothing wrong with it. But we know of plenty of cases where these greedy seekers of big money have wound up in criminal court.

Failing to find work in construction, some of these seekers after big money "change qualifications" and turn to a kind of merchandizing or, more accurately, crooked dealing and speculation. They go to the country's southern regions, for example Lrasnodarskiy Kray, buy up fruits and vegetables cheap, then transport them to northern regions and sell them at exorbitant prices. One such wheeler-dealer was F. Mamedov of the village of Dzveli Kveshi in Bolnisskiy Rayon. Attempting to escape state motor vehicle inspectorate officers, he lost control of his vehicle, hit a steel column, and killed a fellow-villager. Mamedov was trying to get away because he had cucumbers concealed in his trunk.

The number of those going out of the republic to seek big money is growing into a worse problem year by year, yet Georgia's biggest construction projects lack manpower. It is ironic to note that while the men of Dmanisskiy Rayon are seeking their fortunes elsewhere workers are coming down from Gori, Kutaisi, and Rustavi to rebuild the homes destroyed by the earthquake.

The problems relating to these greedy fortune-seekers and "big-money enthusiasts" were the subject of major discussion at the 17th GCP CC Plenum. Participants stressed that these fortune-seeking "travelers" are causing great harm and economic damage to the republic.

Local party organizations are taking decisive steps to put a stop to this evil. In Akhalkalakskiy Rayon, for example, craft industries are being set up, industrial enterprises are being built and existing ones are being expanded, virgin lands are being developed, and new villages are being built.

But this is not enough. We must back up social-economic measures with substantial ideological work. We must surround these greedy rolling stones with an atmosphere of intolerance and social condemnation.

REGIONAL

ALL-UNION POPULATION GEOGRAPHY CONFERENCE HELD IN TBILISI

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 29 Nov 79 p 4

[Article by Dzh. Dzhishkariani: "Fourth All-Union Scientific Conference in Tbilisi"]

[Text] The Fourth All-Union Interdepartmental Scientific Conference, dealing with population geography, ran for several days in Tbilisi. It was organized by the USSR and Georgian Geographical Societies, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the USSR Academy of Sciences Geography Institute, the Tbilisi University, and the GSSR Academy of Sciences Geography Institute imeni Vakhushti.

The main theme of the conference was "Problems of Population Geography in Systems of Integrated Economic and Social Planning."

This question is of both theoretical and great practical importance. For example, the conference worked out a number of measures dealing with matters of regulating demographic processes and settlement.

The conference was participated in by more than 250 scientists from our country's main scientific centers as well as foreign guests.

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REGIONAL

PREPARATORY FACULTY FOR FOREIGN STUDENTS AT TBILISI UNIVERSITY

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 18 Dec 79 p 4

[Article by A. Kobaladze: "New Faculty for Foreign Students"]

[Text] More than 100 young men and women from Pakistan, Laos, Tunisia, Nepal, and other countries have begun studies in a new one-year preparatory faculty (D. Dzhikiya, dean) which has been specially created for foreigners in the Tbilisi State University.

The purpose of the new faculty is to prepare students to master their chosen professions. Major attention is focused on Russian language instruction. Four cycles have been set up to run in parallel: medical-biological, engineering-technical, humanities and economic and engineering-economic. They will provide the foreign students the means to master the essential minimum for studying their chosen professions.

The teachers do not confine themselves to lectures alone. They seek out new forms of work, direct thematic evenings, and arrange field trips in the capital city. All of this enriches the speaking vocabulary of these foreign youngsters.

Assemblies, international evenings, and the national days of the various countries are held regularly in the nurseries [yaslyi] and the youth club on the dormitory grounds. For example, evening parties were held recently to celebrate Yemen's Independence Day and the Laos People's Democratic Republic's National Day.

Future plans also call for such evening parties, field trips, meetings with leading personalities, and so on.

At the end of the school year, in June, students of the preparatory faculty will have graduation examinations. Then these foreign students will begin studying their chosen professions in colleges, vocational schools, and technicums both here and in other republics.

REGIONAL

INTEGRATED FIRMS AS PART OF NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM ADVOCATED

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 30 Nov 79 p 2

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Prof M. Kekelidze: "Reference Point--The End Result. Perfect the Economic Mechanism"]

[Text] At the 25th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted "Administrative and, especially, planning activities must aim at the end national economy results. Such an approach becomes especially timely in a time of economic growth and increasing complexity, when such end results are more and more dependent on many middle links, on a complex system of intrasector and intersector relations."

There are many examples of how the end product depreciates when not enough attention is paid to product quality, to the intermediate links. For example, the products of the garment industry are supposed to meet the public's demand for good looking and high-quality clothing. Frequently, however, the quality of the fabric deteriorates in the intermediate link, in the finishing and dyeing process. This can happen either because of poor-quality raw materials and dyes or disruption of the technological process. It quite frequently happens that because of the irresponsibility of the garment workers clothing sewn from high-quality fabric is unfit to use.

Between 1966 and 1978, Isani Association overfulfilled all plans with respect to the basic production indicators. At the same time, however, amounts of rejected goods were high.

Our footwear industry is consistently behind fashion demands. It does not have an adequately equipped technical base. Its enterprises are not able to rearrange technological production lines in a timely manner and quickly start up the production of new season fashions.

The end economic results are also low in transport.

The republic's People's Control Committee made a special study of the state of loading operations on sidings of union-affiliated enterprises and departments located on Georgian territory. It was found that last

year and the first quarter of this year 44,600 rail cars stood idle on the railroad's sidings through the fault of the GSSR Construction Materials Industry Ministry alone. The enterprises had to pay the railroad 600,000 rubles in fines.

It is generally acknowledged that the worker's labor should be valued according to the end economic results obtained rather than the amount of effort expended. But this is not what happens. The fact is that enterprise personnel, especially those in administration, are given bonuses regardless of the end economic results.

According to psychologists, working on the line fatigues the nervous system. Even in such traditional assembly-line sectors as the automotive industry the organization of production is gradually changing, crew-based forms of labor are being introduced.

In one of the big machine-building plants of the Urals, the turnover of assembly-line workers was very high. A social-psychological survey determined the causes of the turnover. It was found that despite rather high wages most of the workers did not like the endless repetition of simple tasks, and the character of this kind of labor had a negative effect on their mood. In addition, the assembly-line workers thought that they did not have a stable profession that could be used anywhere. Specialists advised production managers to set up special truck and tractor driver courses for assembly-line workers. This measure yielded good results. Turnover declined. The workers were convinced that the driver's profession is a stable one and would be useful if they had to leave their job. But that is just one aspect of the problem; there are other social and economic factors to consider.

The 25th CPSU Congress stipulated that the control and responsibility for work quality be increased in the intermediate links as well, that a new economic mechanism be worked out to exert a decisive influence on raising the indicators of the end results.

The CPSU CC and USSR Council of Ministers decree "Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on the Improvement of Planning and Raising Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" in fact provides for the creation of just such an economic mechanism and its introduction into practice. Scientists and practical workers are carefully studying the provisions of the new decree and preparing carefully for its introduction. Further perfection of the economic mechanism requires a certain amount of advance preparation. In our opinion it is advisable to implement a number of organizational measures. In particular, we think it advisable to set up production firms. Their organizational structure would differ from the ordinary association: It would be integrated and encompass all technological links. A "Men's Wear Firm," for example, would include clothing factories, fabric and thread processing plants, raw materials grading plants, primary processing plants, and raw materials preparation centers.

It is also desirable that major industrial firms have their own scientific centers to work out and put into practice measures involving the integrated administration of equipment, technology, production and labor organization, and quality. There are examples both here and abroad of scientific-research institutes incorporated within industrial firms.

The firms would have legal jurisdiction over wholesale depots and company stores, which would be provided with means of advertising. It is advisable that a clothing firm include in its system a furnishings factory and other facilities producing accessories.

The deciding criterion of the basic economic result in the trade network would likely be the level of product sales. This would replace the present harmful practice in which outmoded and low-quality consumer goods gather dust on store shelves yet the workers of the intermediate links producing such goods go blithely on overfulfilling the basic indicators of their plan and even getting bonuses.

Substandard products due to the negligence of workers or groups of personnel have a bad effect on the growth of net output, the wage fund, and profits. Hence, the above innovation will have the desired regulating influence on the end product.

In order to raise the prestige of the firms, in our opinion, appropriate specialization is required. Clearly this will help to boost worker skills and labor productivity; the firm's prestige will rise, quality will improve. But here again the association must be integrated in character and have auxiliary enterprises. Integrated crews should be created to replace the assembly line. Such crews would include highly-qualified workers in related professions; the crew profit and loss basis would be introduced and formalism would be done away with in the organization of intra-enterprise profit and loss; a crew wage fund would be set up, linked to the quality of the work of each member; mutual control would be enhanced, collegiality would be strengthened.

In our opinion, the implementation of these measures will promote the introduction of automated control systems in enterprises and firms and thus create favorable conditions for all-out activation of the economic mechanism.

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REGIONAL

ADZHARIAN PLENUM MEETS ON PARTY ORGANIZATION'S TASKS

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 19 Dec 79 p 2

[Gruzinform article: "To Achieve the Honorable Goals. Adzharian Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] Batumi, 18 December. The Adzharian Obkom Plenum held here discussed the oblast party organizations's tasks with respect to carrying out the decisions of the November 1979 CPSU CC Plenum and the directives set forth in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech there.

The keynote speech was delivered by GCP CC Buro Candidate Member and Adzharian Obkom First Secretary V. R. Papunidze.

His report and speeches by other participants stressed that Adzharia's party members and working people have achieved substantial successes in efforts to implement the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The volume of industrial output in 1979 was 22.4 percent higher than in 1975, versus 18.7 percent stipulated in plan targets. Total agricultural output grew 77 percent in the three years, substantially surpassing the planned figure. The autonomous republic's tea farmers and citrus growers completed five-year plan targets one year ahead of schedule.

Analyzing the situation, however, plenum participants focused their main attention on the shortcomings and unresolved problems that still exist. Especially disturbing is the large number of union-affiliated enterprises that are lagging. In the first 11 months of this year, 16 industrial enterprises reduced production volume, and 20 industrial enterprises introduced correctives into annual plans, reducing them by 19.6 million rubles. The present pace of production is unsatisfactory in Batumi's machine building plant, oil refinery, electrical machinery plant, shipyard, tea factory, and confectionary factory, and the Adzharian Fishing Fleet Administration.

Plenum participants expressed serious concern about the present shortcomings in agricultural production. Livestock productivity is still too low, and fruit growing, vegetable raising, and poultry farming are developing too slowly.

Special attention was focused on capital construction. It was noted that the construction organizations have failed to complete important construction projects, and funds and material resources are being scattered on too many projects.

Sharp criticism was directed at the Adzharian ASSR Ministry of Trade and Ministry of Consumer Services as well as the Adzharian Cooperative Union for persistent shortcomings in the service sphere. The organization of commercial trade work is not good enough. Customer demands are not adequately studied. Soviet trade regulations are not complied with. There are cases of thievery of socialist property.

The plenum discussed and basically approved of the 1980 draft budget and plan for the economic and social development of the Adzharian ASSR.

The decree that was passed expresses the conviction that all of Adzharia's party members and workers will do their utmost to successfully complete the party's assigned tasks and that they will celebrate the final year of the five-year plan and the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin with shockwork labor and new achievements in the building of communism.

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